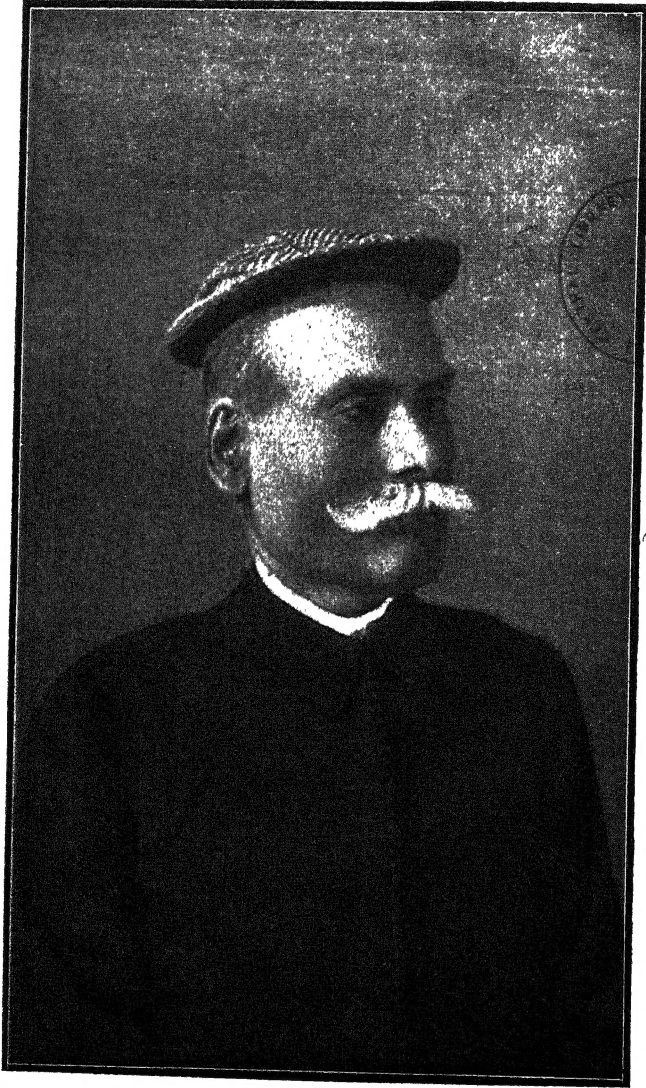


स्वर्गवासी साधुचरित श्रीमान् डालचन्दजी सिंघी



बाबू श्रीबहादुर सिंहजी सिंघीके पुण्यश्लोक पिता

जन्म-वि. सं. १९२१, मार्ग. वदि ६ 卐 स्वर्गवास-वि. सं. १९८४, पोष सुदि ६

दानशील-साहित्यरसिक-संस्कृतिप्रिय
स्व. श्रीबाबू बहादुरसिंहजी सिंघी



अजीमगंज-कलकत्ता

जन्म ता. २८-६-१८८५]

[मृत्यु ता. ७-७-१९४४

SINGHI JAIN SERIES

oooooooooooooooo[NUMBER 33]oooooooooooooooo

Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs

[Volume 3]



Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla

and

Its Contribution to Sanskrit Literature

Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs



- १ स्व. बाबू श्रीबाहदुरसिंहजी सिंघी स्मृतिग्रन्थ [भारतीय विद्या, भाग ३] सन १९४४.
- 2 Late Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi' Memorial volume.
BHARATIYA VIDYA [Volume V] A. D. 1945.
- 3 Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and its contribution
to Sanskrit Literature. By Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara,
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OF CALCUTTA

BY

HIS LATE DEVOTED SON

DĀNAŚĪLA-SĀHITYARASIKA-SANSKRITIPRIYA

ŚRĪ BAHĀDUR SINGH SINGHĪ

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❧ अद्यावधि मुद्रितग्रन्थनामावलि ❧

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मूल संस्कृत ग्रन्थ.</p> <p>२ पुरातनप्रबन्धसंग्रह बहुविध ऐतिह्यतथ्यपरिपूर्ण
अनेक निबन्ध संचय.</p> <p>३ राजशेखरसूरिरचित प्रबन्धकोश.</p> <p>४ जिनप्रभसूरिकृत विविधतीर्थकल्प.</p> <p>५ मेघविजयोपाध्यायकृत देवानन्दमहाकाव्य.</p> <p>६ यशोविजयोपाध्यायकृत जैनतर्कभाषा.</p> <p>७ हेमचन्द्राचार्यकृत प्रमाणमीमांसा.</p> <p>८ भट्टाकलङ्कदेवकृत अकलङ्कग्रन्थत्रयी.</p> <p>९ प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि - हिन्दी भाषान्तर.</p> <p>१० प्रभाचन्द्रसूरिरचित प्रभावकचरित.</p> <p>११ सिद्धिचन्द्रोपाध्यायरचित भानुचन्द्रगणिचरित.</p> <p>१२ यशोविजयोपाध्यायविरचित ज्ञानविन्दुप्रकरण.</p> <p>१३ हरिषेणाचार्यकृत बृहत्कथाकोश.</p> | <p>१४ जैनपुस्तकप्रशस्तिसंग्रह, प्रथम भाग.</p> <p>१५ हरिभद्रसूरिविरचित धूर्ताख्यान. (प्राकृत)</p> <p>१६ दुर्गदेवकृत रिष्टसमुच्चय. ”</p> <p>१७ मेघविजयोपाध्यायकृत दिग्विजयमहाकाव्य.</p> <p>१८ कवि अब्दुल रहमानकृत सन्देशरासक.</p> <p>१९ भर्तृहरिकृत शतकत्रयादि सुभाषितसंग्रह.</p> <p>२० शान्त्याचार्यकृत न्यायावतारवार्तिक-वृत्ति.</p> <p>२१ कवि धाहिलरचित पडमसिरीचरिड. (अप०)</p> <p>२२ महेश्वरसूरिकृत नाणपंचमीकहा. (प्राकृत०)</p> <p>२३ भद्रबाहुसंहिता.</p> <p>२४ जिनेश्वरसूरिकृत कथाकोषप्रकरण. (प्रा०)</p> <p>२५ उदयप्रभसूरिकृत धर्माभ्युदयमहाकाव्य.</p> <p>२६ जयसिंहसूरिकृत धर्मोपदेशमाला.</p> <p>२७ कोलहलविरचित लीलावई कहा (प्रा०)</p> <p>२८ जिनदत्ताख्यानद्वय.</p> |
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Translated from German by Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D.

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❧ संप्रति मुद्र्यमाणग्रन्थनामावलि ❧

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| <p>१ खरतरगण्डबृहद्गुर्वावलि.</p> <p>२ कुमारपालचरित्रसंग्रह.</p> <p>३ विविधगच्छीयपट्टावलिसंग्रह.</p> <p>४ जैनपुस्तक प्रशस्तिसंग्रह, भाग २.</p> <p>५ विज्ञप्तिसंग्रह - विज्ञप्ति महालेख - विज्ञप्ति त्रिवेणी
आदि अनेक विज्ञप्तिलेख समुच्चय.</p> <p>६ उल्लोतनसूरिकृत कुवलयमालाकथा.</p> <p>७ कीर्तिकौमुदी आदि वस्तुपालप्रशस्तिसंग्रह.</p> <p>८ दामोदरकृत उक्तिव्यक्ति प्रकरण.</p> | <p>९ महामुनिगुणपालविरचित जंबूचरित्र (प्राकृत)</p> <p>१० जयपाहुडनाम निमित्तशास्त्र. (प्राकृत)</p> <p>११ गुणचन्द्रविरचित मंत्रीकर्मचन्द्रवंशप्रबन्ध.</p> <p>१२ नयचन्द्रविरचित हम्मीरमहाकाव्य.</p> <p>१३ महेन्द्रसूरिकृत नर्मदासुन्दरीकथा. (प्रा०)</p> <p>१४ स्वयंभूविरचित पडमचरिड (अपभ्रंश)</p> <p>१५ सिद्धिचन्द्रकृत काव्यप्रकाशखण्डन.</p> <p>१६ कौटल्यकृत अर्थशास्त्र - सटीक.</p> <p>१७ गुणप्रभाचार्यकृत विनयसूत्र.</p> |
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Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs

[Volume No. 3]

LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

AND

ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY

Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara. M. A., Ph. D.

Professor and Head of the Department of Gujarati,
Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.



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 શબ્દ અને અર્થ-શબ્દાર્થશાસ્ત્ર વિષે પાંચ વ્યાખ્યાનો (in the Press)
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General Editor's Foreword

It is with great pleasure that I present to the scholarly world Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara's learned work entitled 'Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and its contribution to Sanskrit Literature' which is being published as the third volume of Shri Bahādur Singhji Singhī Memorial Series established in the sacred memory of the Late Bābu Shri Bahādur Singhji Singhī, the founder of the Singhī Jain Series.

On the 7th July, 1944, Shri Bahādur Singhji Singhī of memorable name left his mortal coils. To perpetuate his sacred memory was published under my editorship the बाबु बहादुरसिंहजी सिंघी स्मृतिग्रंथ in the form of a bulky issue of the भारतीय विद्या a Hindi-Gujarati Research Quarterly, presenting a collection of highly valuable contributions from numerous scholars. There-with was also included an extensive essay by me giving my cherished reminiscences of Singhji. At the time of issuing that memorial volume, it occurred to me that to commemorate the name of the late Singhji such a memorial volume should be published every year. Accordingly a special yearly number of the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, a research journal in English published by the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan was issued as the Bābu Shri Bahādursinghji Singhī Memorial Volume. It proved to be a rich and valuable collection of important research papers. But because of some unfavourable circumstances, my decision of publishing a memorial volume yearly in the sacred memory of Singhji could not be regularly given effect to in the immediately following years, though my efforts in that connection were continued. And before the present work was taken up for publication, I undertook in 1946-47 to publish in the present series the two volumes of 'Studies in Indian Literary History', presenting a collection of valuable articles of my learned friend Prof. P. K. Gode. But as an aftermath of the large-scale destruction and loss that resulted from the Second World War, paper, etc. became very scarce, so that the printing of these volumes of Prof. Gode could not be carried on according to schedule, and it has not yet been possible to place them before the reading public.

In the meanwhile printing of the present work was completed, and I experience satisfaction to some degree in presenting it to the learned world.

To-day is the ninth anniversary of the passing away of that great soul to commemorate whose name the present memorial series is started. And the fact that on this very day it has been possible to publish such a rich volume of the memorial series will, I hope, be a matter of gratification to the admirers and lovers of the Singhī Jain Series. I also hope that further within a few months it will be possible to make available to scholars the above-mentioned two important volumes together of Prof. Gode's writings too.

The author of the present monograph, Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara is a deep and well-advanced student of his subject. He has studied as well as taught the subject of Gujarati language, culture and ancient history with earnestness and enthusiasm. I personally know him since many years — since even when he had not yet passed his school final. At that time being impressed by his insatiable urge to learn—and especially to know and understand everything about the ancient cultural glory of Gujarat, I had also an occasion to say to him a few words of encouragement. Being a native of Pāṭaṇ which remained for centuries the greatest centre of culture and prosperity, and which is even at present quite famous for having preserved the literary treasures of Gujarat, it was but natural for Dr. Sandesara to draw ever-fresh inspiration for the study of subjects, clear to him. The famous Jain Bhaṇḍārs at Pāṭaṇ harbouring thousands of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. and hundreds of Old Gujarati works belonging right down to the eighteenth century would prove a effective source of inspiration to any one sufficiently curious and diligent. In my case too, for instance, it was Pāṭaṇ with its rich and varied materials and sources relating to the past history, literature and glory of Gujarat which principally induced me to study them, and enable me by publishing them to make my humble contribution in the service of literature. This very work of Dr. Sandesara is sufficient proof as to how much valuable were these Mss. at Pāṭaṇ for his work of editing and research. Had he not got any clear idea of the rich materials stored in the Pāṭaṇ Bhaṇḍārs, and had he not got an opportunity of having access to them, he would have not been able, as he has been, to substantiate his thesis at various places with original, reliable and first-rate evidences, and thus makes the work authentic and well written.

Concerning the life and good deeds of Vastupāla, the great and glorious minister of Mahā-Gujarāt, there are numerous works in Sanskrit and Old Gujarati, and on the basis of these a number of works, essays and articles have appeared in Modern Gujarati, Hindi, English, German, etc. But among all these writings the present work of Prof. Sandesara occupies a special place on account of organized marshalling of facts and of authentic pictures of the cultural and social conditions of the Gujarat of those times.

I offer my heart-felt congratulations to Prof. Sandesara for this work done so well.

In fine I take this opportunity to express here my feeling of sincere gratitude towards the University of Bombay which having taken into consideration the high worth of the present work, has shown generousness in granting a substantial sum towards the cost of its publication.

7th of July, 1953.

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

SHRI BAHADUR SINGHJI SINGHI

By

Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni

THE 7th OF JULY, is a sorrowful day for me. This day in the year 1944, Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi left his mortal coils at the comparatively early age of fiftynine. His loss has been widely felt. His aged mother received this rude shock so ill that she did not long outlive him. His worthy sons have lost an affectionate and noble father, the industrialists and businessmen of the country one of their pioneers, the large number of his employees a benevolent master, scholarship one of its best patrons and the poor people of his native district a most generous donor. To me his loss has been personal. My contact with him was a turning point in my life. Whatever I have been able, during the past fifteen years, to achieve in the field of scholarship is due directly to him. The financial assistance with which he backed up my activities was the least of his contributions. But for his love of scholarship with which he inspired me, this chapter of my life would have been entirely different. To his sacred memory I am penning these few lines. This volume is brought out in his memory.

Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji was born in Azimganj, Murshidabad, in Vikram Samvat 1941, in the ancient family of the Singhis, who were of old the treasurers of the Mughal emperors. The family had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and in the 17th century it migrated from Rajaputana to Bengal, but thanks to the energy and enterprise of Singhji's father, Babu Dalchandji Singhi, the family firm became a very flourishing concern.

At an early age Singhji joined the family business and by pushing ahead with father's enterprises, succeeded in making the firm the foremost in the mining industry of Bengal and Central India. Besides he also acquired vast zamindaries and had interests in many industrial and banking concerns. This early preoccupation with business affairs prevented his having a college education. But Singhji was studious and introspective by nature. Unlike many other wealthy men who spend their money and time in such fads as the races, the theatres, and the like, he devoted all his spare time to study and cultural development. He acquired an excellent command over several languages. Art and literature were the subjects of his choice. He was very fond of collecting rare and invaluable specimens of ancient sculpture, paintings, coins, copperplates and inscriptions. His manuscript collection contained a large number of rare works of historical and cultural importance, among which mention must be made of a unique manuscript of the Koran which was handed down from Baber to Aurangzeb and bears the autographs of all of them. It is recorded therein that it was considered by them all as more valuable than the empire.

His numismatic collection, especially of Kushan and Gupta coins, is considered the third best in the world. He also had a good and large collection of works of art and historical importance. Singhi was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London), a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Indian Research Institute and a Founder-Member of the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan. He was also the President of the Jain Swetambara Conference held in Bombay 1926. Though he had made no special study of law he was well up in the legal matters. On one occasion when he found that his lawyers were not properly representing his case he himself pleaded out the case successfully, much to the surprise of the bench and the bar who took him for an accomplished advocate.

Though a highly religious and leading figure in the Jain Community he had an outlook which was far from sectarian. More than three-fourths of the six lakhs and over of his donations were for non-jain causes. More often than not he preferred to give his assistance anonymously and he did not keep a list of his donations even when they were made in his name. To the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Calcutta, he gave Rs. 10,000/-, when Mahatmaji had been to his place for the collection of funds; to the Hindu Accademy, Daultapur, Rs. 15,000/-, to the Taraqi-Urdu Bangala 5000/-, the Hindi Sahitya Parishad 12,500/-, to the Vishuddhanand Sarasvati Marwari Hospital 10,000/-, to several maternity homes 2,500/-, to the Benares Hindu University 2,500/-, to the Jiaganj High School 5,000/-, to the Jiaganj London Mission Hospital 6000/-, to the Jain Temples at Calcutta and Murshidabad 11,000/-, to the Jain Dharma Pracharak Sabha, Manbhum 5,000/-, to the Jain Bhavan, Calcutta, 15,000/-, to the Jain Pustak Prachar Mandal, Agra, 7,500/-, to the Agra Jain Temple 3,500/-, to the Ambala Jain High School, 2,100/-, for the Prakrit Kosh 2,500/-, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 10,000/-. At the Singhi Park Mela held at his Ballyganj. residence in which Viscount Wavell, then Commander-in-Chief and Lord John Herbert, Governor of Bengal and Lady Herbert participated, he donated Rs. 41,000/-, for the Red Cross Fund.

The people of the district of Murshidabad, his native place, will ever remain grateful to him for having distributed several thousand maunds of rice at the low price of Rs. 8/- when rice was selling at Rs. 24/- in those terrible years of 1942-52, himself thereby suffering a loss of over three lakhs. In May-June 1944 he again spent Rs. 50 000/- for the distribution of cloth, rice and coins for the people of that place.

My close association with Singhi began in 1931, when he invited me to occupy the Chair for Jain Studies which he was starting at the Vishvabharati. Due to unfavourable climatic conditions of Shantiniketan I could not continue to work there for more than four years, but during those years was founded the Singhi Jain Series. During the period of ten years of my principalship of Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad, and even before that I had been collecting materials of historical and philological importance and folk-lore etc. which had been lying hidden in the great Jain Bhandars of Patan, Ahmedabad, Baroda etc. I persuaded Singhi to start

a series which would publish works dealing with the vast materials in my possession, and also other important Jain texts and studies prepared on the most modern scientific lines. On the works of the Series he spent through me more than Rs. 75,000/-. During this long period of over a dozen years he not even once asked me as to how and for what works the amount was spent. Whenever the account was submitted he did not ask for even the least information, but sanctioned it casting merely a formal glance on the accounts sheets. But he showed the most discriminating interest in the matter that was being published and on the material and manner in which they were being brought out. His only desire was to see the publication of as many works as possible during his lifetime. In May 1943 at my instance he gave over the Series to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In September 1943 I had been to Calcutta to negotiate the purchase, for the Bhavan, of a well-equipped library of a retired professor. Singhiji casually asked me what arrangements had been made for meeting the cost. I promptly replied that there was no cause for worry as long as donors like himself were there. He smiled; he had decided. Eventually he persuaded me to go in for the Nahar Collection which was a still more valuable one. He did not live long enough to present this literary treasure to the Bhavan; but his eldest son and my beloved friend, Babu Shri Rajendra Singh has fulfilled his father's wish though he was totally ignorant of it and has got this unique collection for the Bhavan and spent Rs. 50,000/- for the purpose.

By the end of 1943 his health began to decline. In the first week of January, 1944, when I went to him at Calcutta in connection with the work of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti I found him extremely unwell. Notwithstanding his ill-health he talked to me for more than a couple of hours on the day of my arrival there. The first thing he said in the course of this lengthy, though very sweet talk, was to give me a mild reproof for undertaking the long and tedious journeys to Calcutta, Benaras and Cawnpore in spite of my ill health. He discussed with absorbing interest the details of the Samiti's proposed History of India, a subject of great interest to him. Our talks then drifted to the subject of the History of Jainism in which connection also he expressed his opinion about the material to be utilised for such a work. At the termination of our talks, which this time lasted for over three hours, I found him much exhausted and drooping in spirits.

On the 7th January his health took a turn for the worse. On 11th January I went to take leave of him, which he, full of emotion, gave with a heavy heart, exclaiming "Who knows whether we shall meet again or not?" I requested him to take heart and remain buoyant. He would be soon restored to normal health. But while I was stepping out of his room, my eyes were full of tears and his last words began to eat into my heart. Ill-luck prevented our second meeting. That lofty and generous soul finally left its mortal habitat at mid-day on 7th July, 1944. May his soul rest in peace!

His sons, Babu Rajendra Singh, Babu Narendra Singh and Babu Virendra Singh are treading in the footsteps of their revered father. During

the past year on the Singhi Series alone they have spent over Rs. 20,000/-. I have already mentioned how Babu Rajendra Singh purchased for the Bhavan the valuable Nahar collection. Babu Narendra Singh has also spent Rs. 30,000/- for a foundation of a Jain Bhavan at Calcutta. Babu Rajendra Singh and Babu Narendra Singh have also very generously promised me to continue to meet all the expenses of the Singhi Jain Series and requested me to bring out as many works as possible, at whatever cost so that this unique series founded and cherished by their late lamented father may continue to bring to light the invaluable treasures of Jain literature and culture.

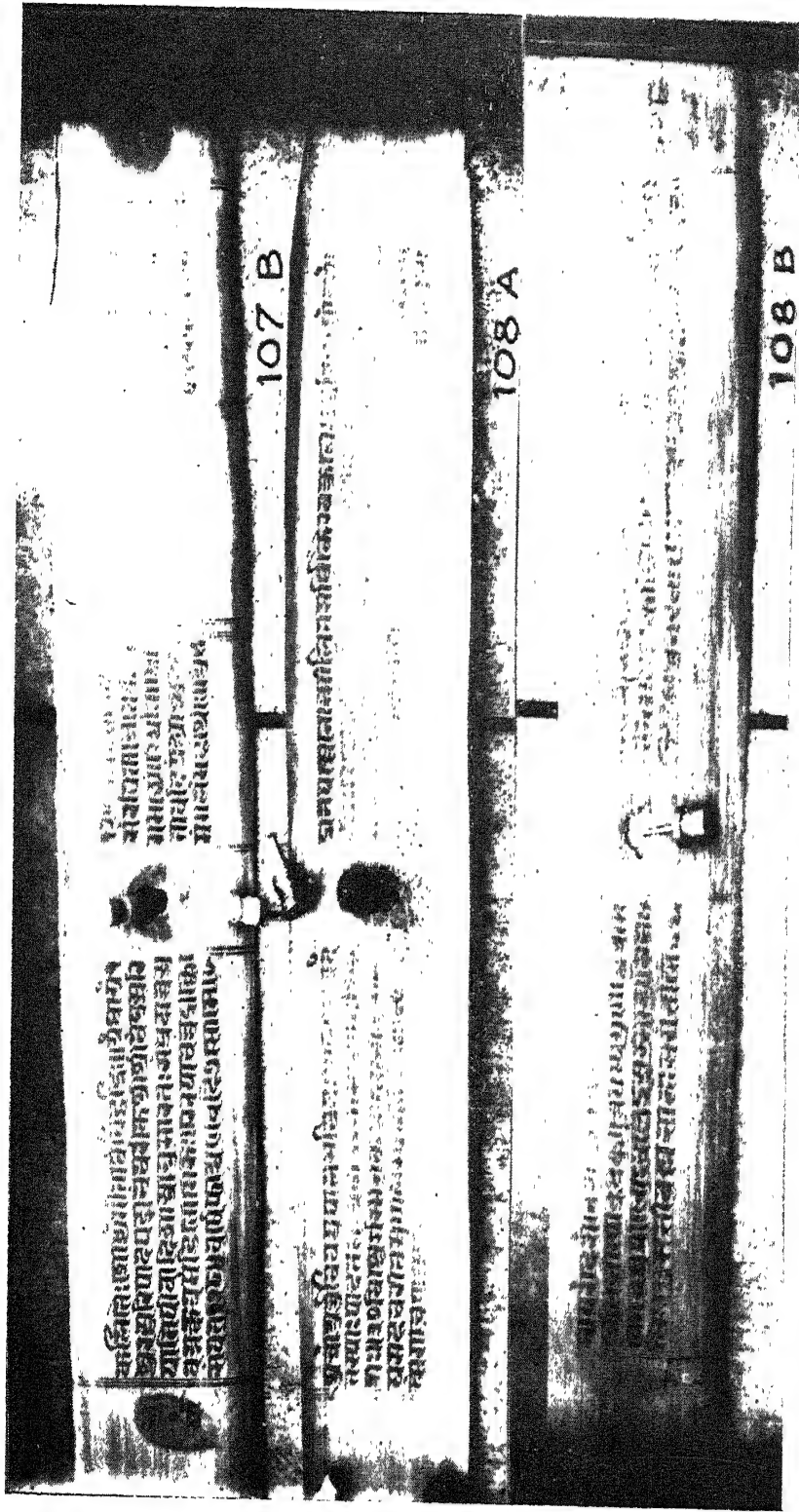
In recognition of his unique assistance the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has decided to perpetuate Singhi's memory by naming its Indological library after him. Further, one of its main halls will bear his name. The Bhavan's Jain Department will also be known as the **Singhi Jain Shikshapith.**†

July 1, 1945.
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVANA
BOMBAY.

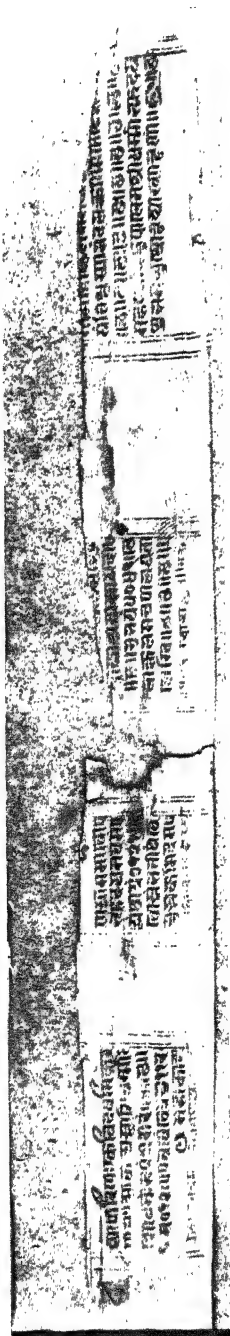
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Jina Vijaya Muni

† Reprinted from Babu Shri Bahadur Singhi Singhi, Memorial Volume of the *Bharatiya Vidya*, [Volume V] 1945.



Last two folios (No. 107b and 108a-b) of a palmleaf ms. of the Jītakalpa-cūṇī-vyākhyā of Śrīcandrasūri, copied down in 1284 V. S. (1228 A. D.), which may be taken as a rare remain of the public libraries established by Vastupāla (Vide Paras 220 and 61 n.).



Handwritings of Vastupāla—last folio of the palmleaf ms. of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākavya
copied down by him in 1290 V. S. i. e. 1234 A. D. (Vide Para 62).

PREFACE

MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA, the prime-minister of the Vāghelā king of Dhavalakka or Dholkā in Gujarāt during the first half of the 13th century A. D., was not only a prominent political figure of his times, but also a great patron of literature and art, a great builder of monuments and a man of letters. Under his patronage there flourished a literary group whose activities made a notable contribution to mediaeval Sanskrit literature in its various forms, both creative and Śāstric.

The life and works of Mahāmātya Vastupāla have attracted the attention of scholars for the last several decades. Prof. A. V. Kāthavaṭe has given a short sketch of Vastupāla's life and works as early as 1883 in his Introduction to the Kirtikaumudī of Someśvara published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (No. XXV) and Dr. Bühler dealt with the same topic when he made a critical analysis of the contents of the Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha in a paper published in 1889¹.

The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I (History of Gujarāt), published in 1896, devotes a chapter to the history of the Vāghelās, a few pages (pp. 198-203) of which are given to the political career of Vastupāla. Divān Bahādur Ranchhodhbhāi Udayarām, the Gujarātī translator of Forbe's Rāsmālā, added a supplement about the Vāghelās in the second edition of his translation published in 1899 and collected therein many facts about the personal history and political career of Vastupāla. The same subject was discussed by Mr. Vallabhjī Haridatta Ācārya in his Introduction to the versified Gujarātī translation of Someśvara's Kirtikaumudī published in 1908. Mr. Chimanlāl D. Dalāl also dealt with it from various points of view, very briefly of course, in his Introductions to the Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla, Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra and Hammīramadamardana of Jayasimhasūri, published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Recently, in 1939, Mr. Durgāshankar K. Shāstrī devoted, in the second volume of his Gujarātī work, Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājput Itihāsa, a few pages (pp. 381-395) to the life and works of Vastupāla, giving one or two paragraphs (pp. 394-95) to Vastupāla's patronage of literature.

However, during the last five or six decades, after Kāthavaṭe, Bühler, Ranchhodhbhāi and Ācārya wrote their essays, many important sources—both literary and epigraphic—bearing on the life and works of Vastupāla have been discovered and several of his own compositions—a Mahākāvya and four Stotras—have been unearthed from the old manuscript-libraries at Pāṭan and other places. The historical and biographical details about several figures in the literary circle of Vastupāla have become known and

1 The original German paper was published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Imperial Academy of Vienna (Vol. CXIX, 1889) and an English translation of the same—The Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha—was printed in the Indian Antiquary, Vol XXXI, pp. 477 ff.

their works are brought to light. Though a considerable part of these literary productions is unprinted as yet and is available only in manuscript-form they constitute important data for purposes of study.

Here I may state that the scholars mentioned above have dealt with only some aspects of Vastupāla's life and that none of them has treated the subject as a whole and exhaustively and that in the matter of contribution to Sanskrit literature by Vastupāla and his circle, there has been only a very scanty discussion. Further, these scholars had no opportunity to utilize all the new material discovered up to date. Thus there was scope enough for an adequate treatment of Vastupāla's life and especially for a critical account of his own and his circle's contribution to Sanskrit literature. The present work is an attempt to study the topic critically from the historical, the biographical and the literary points of view.

The work has been divided into three parts. The *first part*—viz. Introductory—presents in brief the cultural and literary background and deals with the past literary and scholastic traditions of Gujarāt with a view to studying the life and works of Vastupāla and his circle in their proper perspective. The *second part*—viz. Mahāmātya Vastupāla and His Literary Circle—deals with the personal and political history of Vastupāla and studies critically Vastupāla's role as a great patron of literature and art and a man of letters. Moreover, it tries to present all the available biographical details, in an authenticated form, about the known literary figures in Vastupāla's circle. Thus the first two parts of the book are devoted to the study of the historical and biographical material.

The *third part*—viz. Contribution to Sanskrit Literature—makes a critical survey of the contribution of Vastupāla and his circle to different branches of literature. First, I have dealt with the creative forms of literature, like Mahākāvya, Nāṭaka, Prāśasti, Stotra, anthology, Dharmakathā, Prabandha, Apabhramśa Rāsas etc., and then with the Śāstric forms, like the works on poetics, grammar, metrics, Nyāya, astrology and commentaries on Jaina religious works¹. And at the end of the book, I have added a *Conclusion* summarising the main currents of the whole treatment.

While preparing the present work I have tried my best to consult all the available sources, published or in manuscript-form in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhramśa and Old Gujarātī, and have also gone through all the

1 Section I of chapter VI (Historical Mahākāvyas) and chapter VIII (Prāśastis) etc. will be found to have some portions of the subject-matter repeated to a certain extent. This was rather inevitable, because all the four historical Mahākāvyas and all the Prāśastis are sources of contemporary history and at the same time they are literary compositions having Vastupāla as their hero. In this work dealing with the history as well as literature of mediaeval Gujarāt, I have utilized these for both the purposes, and hence while analysing the plots of the historical poems etc. from the literary point of view at least a few things had to be repeated.

known research-works pertaining to the subject in English, Hindi and Gujarāṭi.

As considerable part of the literary sources pertaining to Vastupāla and his circle of poets and scholars and to their compositions is not printed as yet, I had to procure a large number of manuscripts—about forty in all—written on palm-leaves and on paper for the purpose of this study. It was through the good offices of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaṇi that I had free access to the famous manuscript-libraries at Pāṭaṇ, and also at Baroda and Chāṇi, a village near Baroda. Moreover, I had to consult several manuscripts from Jaina Bhāṇḍārs at Cambay, Ahmedabad and Chāṇasmā, and I am grateful to the authorities of the Bhāṇḍārs for giving me facilities for work. I am also thankful to Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for putting at my disposal some of the required manuscripts for a long time, and to Muni Śrī Kāntivijayaṇi for the loan of copies of some unpublished works. I am indebted to Prof. K. V. Abhyankar, Paṇḍit Sukhlālji and Śrī Jitendra Jeṭṭy, M.A., Nyāyācārya, for useful suggestions, to Prof. C. N. Patel, M.A., for going through the press-copy and to Śrī Suresh H. Joshi, M.A., for preparing the Index.

The work was prepared when I was Professor of Gujarāṭi and Ardhamāgadhī at the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, and I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. R. C. Parikh, Director of the Institute, for helping me in a variety of ways in the prosecution of my research and also for the invaluable facility of the Institute's very rich library. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

Last but not the least, I heartily thank Ācārya Śrī Jinavijayaṇi for including this work for publication in the reputed Singhi Jaina Series.

‘Adhyapak Nivas,’
University Road,
BARODA
27th October 1952 }

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA

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Prākṛtaprabodha (no. 2162 of Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstra-saṁgraha, Baroda, copied down in V. S. 1487; Pothī no. 20, ms. no. 15 in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, copied down in V. S. 1476; no. 2176 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

NARACANDRA UPĀDHYĀYA, pupil of SIMHASŪRI,

Janmasamudra (Pothī no. 24, ms. no. 3 in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, copied down in V. S. 1537).

Jyotiścaturviṁśikā (no. 5101 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

Praśnaśataka (no. 2164 of Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasamgraha, Baroda, copied down in V. S. 1532).

NARENDRAPRABHASŪRI,

Vivekakalikā (palm-leaf ms. no. 52 of the incomplete section, Saṁg-havi Pāḍa Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ).

Vivekapāḍapa (palm-leaf ms. no. 52 of the incomplete section, Saṁg-havi Pāḍa Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ).

BĀLACANDRA

Upadeśakandalī-Ṭikā (no. 886 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

BHADRABĀHU,

Pinḍaniryukti (a ms. in the Vijayadānasūri Jñāna-Bhāṇḍār at Chāṇī).

MĀNIKYACANDRA

Parśvanāthacaritra Mahākāvya (Dabaḍā no. 31, palm-leaf ms. no. 1 in the Śāntinātha Bhāṇḍār at Cambay).

Śāntināthacaritra Mahākāvya (no. 865 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

SUBHAŚĪLA GAṆĪ,

Prabandhapāñcaśatī or Pañcaśatikathāsaṁgraha (no. 58 of Hamsavijayajī Śāstrasamgraha, Baroda).

ŚRĪCANDRASŪRI,

Jitakalpacūṛṇi-Vyākhyā (palm-leaf ms. no. 8 in the Tapā Gachha Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ, copied down in V. S. 1284).

SAMAYASUNDARA,

Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa (no. 8426 of Muni Hamsavijayajī Śāstra-saṃgraha, Baroda).

SĀGARACANDRA,

Jyotiḥsāra-Tikā (no. 2145 of Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasam-graha, Baroda).

SOMEŚVARA,

Ullāgharāghava Nāṭaka (no. 843 of 1884-86 in the Bombay Govt. collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, copied down in V. S. 1537).

Karṇāmṛtaprapā (no. 39 of 1871-72 in the Bombay Govt. collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, copied down in V. S. 1509).

Rāmaśataka (no. 49 of 1873-74 in the Bombay Govt. collection of mss. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, copied down in V. S. 1656).

HĪRĀNANDA,

Vastupāla Rāsa (a ms. in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇya-vijayajī).

ANONYMOUS,

Rāmaśataka-Tikā (Pothi no. 10, ms. no. 9, in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, copied down in V. S. 1586).

ANONYMOUS,

A fragmentary anthology* (palm-leaf ms. no. 52 of the incomplete section in the Saṃghavī Pāḍā Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ).

* Vide para 92.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Alaṃkāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri
ANNALS	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BBH	Bālabhārata of Amaracandrasūri
BG	Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I (History of Gujarat)
BHV	Bhāratīya Vidyā (Hindi-Gujarati)
BP	Budhhiprakāśa (Guj.)
CC	Catalogus Catalogorum
CHA	Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra
DHA	Dharmābhyudaya of Udayaprabhasūri
EI	Epigraphia Indica
FGST	Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Traimāsika (Guj.)
GMRI	Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājput Itihās (Guj.) by D. K. Shastri
HIG	Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt, edited by G. V. Acharya
HMM	Hammīramadamardana Nāṭaka of Jayasimhasūri
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JBC	A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhāṇḍārs at Jesalmere
JG	Jaina Granthāvali
JGRS	Journal of the Gujarat Research Society
JRK	Jinaratnakośa by Prof. H. D. Velankar
JPPS	Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṃgraha, edited by Jinavijayajī
JSI	Jaina Sāhityano Saṃkṣipta Itihās (Guj.) by M. D. Desai
JSP	Jaina Satya Prakāśa (Guj.)
KK	Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara
KKL	Kāvyaikalpalatā of Amaracandrasūri
KP	Kāvya prakāśa of Mammāṭa
LBC	Catalogue of the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Limbdi
NK	Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara
NKT	Nyāyakandalī Tīppaṇa of Naracandrasūri
NN	Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla
NPP	Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā (Hindi)
PBC	A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhāṇḍārs at Pāṭaṇ, Vol. I
PC	Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga
PGGS	Prācīna Gujarātī Gadya Sandarbha, edited by Jinavijayajī
PGKS	Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya Saṃgraha, edited by C. D. Dalal
PJLS	Prācīna Jaina Lekha Saṃgraha, Pt. II, edited by Jinavijayajī
PK	Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekhara
PLM	Prācīna Lekhamālā
PP	Prākṛta Prabodha of Naracandrasūri
PPS	Purātana Prabandha Saṃgraha
PT	Purātattva (Guj.)
SKK	Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī of Udayaprabhasūri
SM	Sūktimuktāvalī of Jahlapa
SS	Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha
SU	Surathotsava of Someśvara

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UKT	Upadeśakandali Ṭīkā of Bālacandra
UR	Ullāgharāghava Nāṭaka of Someśvara
UT	Upadeśataramgiṇī of Ratnamandira Gapi
VC	Vastupālacarita of Jinaharṣa
VK	Vivekakalikā of Narendraprabhasūri
VMT	Vivekamañjari Ṭīkā of Bālacandra
VP	Vivekapādapa of Narendraprabhasūri
VTK	Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri
VV	Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

CULTURAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

1. MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA, who lived in the first half of the 13th century A. D. is a remarkable figure not only in the history of Gujarāt, but also in the history of mediaeval Sanskrit literature. He and his younger brother Tejapāla were ministers of king Viradhavala of Dhavalakka (modern Dholkā in the Ahmedabad district), who was a feudatory of king Bhimadeva II of Anahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇ. Vastupāla was a shrewd politician and a successful general, and came from a Jaina family belonging to the Prāgvāṭa (Porvād) community, which is famous in the history of Gujarāt for its valour, statesmanship and business acumen. But it is noteworthy that Vastupāla was also a great patron of learning, a promoter of literature and a philanthropist, a man of religious devotion and a great builder of monuments, such as the temples on Ābu and Gīrnār. Moreover, he was a Sanskrit poet of distinct merit, and is known to have composed a Mahākāvya and several Stotras. Consequently a large number of poets and scholars had gathered around him, who made a remarkable contribution to various branches of mediaeval Sanskrit literature. It is a rare thing in the history of India to find such a bright galaxy of scholars and poets gathered around a person who was not a king. In the long and varied history of Sanskrit literature, there is hardly a figure round whom had grown, as round Vastupāla, so much authentic material from contemporary pens surviving to this day. This work aims at giving an exhaustive treatment, as far as possible, of the life and works of Vastupāla, especially from cultural and literary points of view, and adducing historical evidence to establish the existence of a bright literary circle around him. It also aims at showing how he and his literary circle have enriched Sanskrit literature in a variety of ways.

2. To assess properly the work of Vastupāla and his literary circle, it is necessary to understand the cultural and literary background of his times, and it would be proper here to make a short survey of literary and scholarly traditions prevailing in the age that preceded his. It would show what Gujarāt has done to enrich the Sanskrit literature at least since the times of the Valabhī kings. From this point of view the history of Gujarāt has to show two very bright periods—one the period of the great savant Hemacandra (1088-1173 A. D.) and the other that of Vastupāla. The former has been discussed at length by Bühler in his *Life of Hemacandrācārya* and by Professor R. C. Parikh in his introduction to the *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* of Hemacandra. The other period, that is the period of Vastupāla, is the subject of the present work.

3. The intellectual and cultural life of cities like Anahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka where men like Hemacandra and Vastupāla lived and worked

was, as we shall see presently, in the high tradition of Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Valabhī and Bhinnamāla.¹

Glory of Valabhī

4. Leaving aside Dvārakā of mythological times, which Śrī Kṛṣṇa made his capital when he fled from Jarāsandha, we come to the historic city of Girinagara (modern Junāgaḍh). It has the inscription of Aśoka (274-237 B. C.) in Prakṛit which was presumably understood in this part of the country, and the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) in prose, one of the earliest, if not the earliest, specimens of classical Sanskrit literaure, and the inscription of Skandagupta (456 A. D.) in verse—all on a rock at the foot of mt. Gīrnār in the vicinity of Junāgaḍh. These are the earliest remarkable literary records of Gujārāt, and they belong to the well-known historical ages of India—viz. of the Mauryas, the Kṣtrapas and the Guptas respectively. Next we come to the age of the Maitrakas of Valabhī which was contemporary with the latter part of the Gupta age. Valabhī (modern Vaḷā or Valabhipur in Saurāstra) was a great centre of Brahmanical, Buddhhist as well as jaina learning. The description of Valabhī given by the great Chinese traveller Yuan-chang who came there about 641 A. D. bears ample testimony to its splendour. According to him, there were some hundred Saṃghārāmas, where about 6000 priests lived and studied the little vehicle (the tenets of Hīnayāna) according to the Sammatiyā school. Moreover, he say that “not far from the city is a great Saṃghārāma which was built by the Arhat (‘o-che-lo’)²; here the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati (Kien-hwui)³ fixed thir residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown”⁴. Asaṃga, Vasubandhu and Sthiramati are the three great names in the history of the Yogācāra sect of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, and on the authority of Yhan-Chang we may say that at least one of them, Sthiramati, who has commented upon Vasubandhu’s Trīmśikā and also composed several Yogācāra works, lived near Valabhī, and that the study of Buddhhist philosophy was a highly prized subject there.

5. That Valabhī was a great seat of learning is again proved by I-Tsing, a junior contemporary of Yuan-chang. According to him, “Nālandā in South Behar and Valabhī were two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students who commonly devoted two or three years on attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy.”⁵

1 R. C. Parikh, *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, intro., p. 1.

2 This Saṃghārāma has been identified with the caves in the Talāja hills near Bhavnagar in Saurāstra (PT, Vol. I, pp. 103-12).

3 According to a tradition, one Sthiramati was a pupil of Guṇamati, and lived before 425 A. D. (Vide Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 362 n.).

4 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Bk XI, p. 208.

5 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 314.

6. We have ample evidence to show that Brahmanical and Jaina learning flourished at Valabhī. In the 32nd Taramāṅga of the Kathāsaritsāgara of Kāshmirian Somadeva (11th century A. D.), one Viṣṇudatta has been described as going to Valabhī from Antarvedī for learning Vidyā. Though the Kathāsaritsāgara was composed in the 11th century, the reference in question may be considered very old, because as it is well known, it is a version of the lost Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, who lived in the beginning of the Christian era. Grants of the Valabhī kings attest to the royal patronage of the Vedic learning throughout the kingdom, and learned Brahmins of Ānandapura (modern Vaḍanagar) are conspicuous in the grants. The great Bhaṭṭikāvya or Rāvaṇavadha (between about 500 and 650 A. D.), which is the first Vyākaraṇa-Kāvya in the history of Sanskrit literature, a veritable literary feat, was composed at Valabhī. The Bhaṭṭikāvya must have become a model for the composition of the two Dvyāśraya Kāvyas—one Sanskrit and another Prākṛit—of Hemacandra,¹ which form the most important sources for the study of history and culture of Gujarāt in the Caulukya or Solankī period. Naturally, the Bhaṭṭikāvya must be considered a single literary remain, which is, however, suggestive of a vast literary activity. This inference would be considered right if we remember that some kings of Valabhī are described as very learned. One of them, Dhruvasena II (329 A. D.) is described in one of the grants as specially proficient in the science of Sālāturiya, that is the grammar of Pāṇini, and the science of polity (cf. राज्यसालातुरीयतंत्रयोर्भूयोरपि निष्णात.....).² In a grant of Dharasena II (478 A. D.) his father Guhasena is said to be well-versed in composing works in three languages, viz. Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa (संस्कृतप्राकृतापभ्रंशभाषात्रयप्रतिबद्धप्रबन्धरचनानिपुणतरान्तःकरणः।).³ It may also be noted in passing that though the Valabhī inscriptions are purely donatory, their formal references to the donating ruler and his ancestors are in a style which anticipates the elegant prose of the latter Sanskrit Gadyakāvyas.

7. Evidence is not lacking to show that Valabhī was also a great seat of Jaina religion and learning. Jaina religion, though originating in Magadha, had changed its centre of activity and in the early centuries of the Christian era Ujjayinī in Central India, Mathurā in the midland and Valabhī in western India had become very important places of Jainism. The first council for the redaction of the Jaina canon was convened at Pāṭaliputra during the second century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, when the first eleven Aṅgas were compiled and the remnants of the fourteen Pūrvyas were collected to form a twelfth Aṅga, the Dṛṣṭivāda. But in course of time the canon was put into disorder, and a second council was convened by Ārya Skandila at Mathurā and by Ārya Nāgārjuna at Valabhī almost simultaneously, in the ninth century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (Kalyāṇavijaya, Vīra Nirvāṇa Saṃvat,

1 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 56.

2 HIG, No. 63.

3 Ibid, no. 50. According to Bühler (IA, Vol. X, p. 278 ff.), this is a spurious grant, and it is latter than the date which is mentioned in it.

p. 104). These two Ācāryas, unfortunately, could not meet one another, and hence there were many textual variations in the versions of the canon compiled by both of them, one being known as the Māthurī Vācanā, and the other as the Valabhī Vācanā. After this, there came the great event of committing to writing the Jain canon according to the Māthurī Vācanā, taking down the variations of the Valabhī Vācanā wherever necessary. In the year 980 (or 993) after the death of Mahāvīra (i. e. in A. D. 454 or 467) again a council was held in Valabhī presided over by Devardhhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, for the purpose of collecting the sacred texts and writing them down. The Jain canon as a whole was written down for the first time under the auspices of this council and it is possible that the copies of different texts of the canon were sent to different parts of the country for circulation of the authentic version. In fact, this is a great event in Jaina history, and it is quite significant that Valabhī was selected as the meeting-place for these important councils.¹

8. Malla Vādin was a great Jaina scholar of Valabhī. He was the author of the Nayacakra or Dvādaśāranayacakra considered to be one of the greatest works of Jaina logic. According to the Prabhāvākacarita (1278 A.D.) of Prabhācandrasūri, Malla was the youngest of the three brothers—the names of the other two being Jitayaśas or Jinayaśas and Yakṣa. They had a maternal uncle, who had become a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk and was known as Jinānandasūri. He was defeated by a Buddhist monk named Nanda or Budhhānanda in a public controversy at Bṛgukachha (modern Broach). So he left that city and came to Valabhī, where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three received sound training at Valabhī, and became masters of Śāstras. Jitayaśas wrote a Nyāsa on a work of grammar known as the Viśrāntavidyādhara,² Yakṣa composed a work on astrology called Nimitatāṣṭāṅgabodhinī, while Malla wrote his famous treatise Nayacakra. Malla went to Bṛgukachha and defeated his uncle's opponent in a debate, and received the title of Vādin as a token of victory. The Prabhāvākacarita gives the year of this event as 884 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (i. e. 358 A. D.). Unfortunately, the original Nayacakra is not extant to-day, and we have to reconstruct the text with the help of the commentary by Simha Kṣamāśramaṇa (circa 700 A. D.).

1 Traditions about these councils have been preserved in the Nandi Cūṇi (677 A. D.) of Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, Nandi Vṛtti of Haribhadra (701-771 A. D.), Vicāraśreṇi of Merutunga (14th cent. A. D.), Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka Vṛtti of Malayagiri (12th cent. A. D.), Lokaprakāśa (1652 A. D.) of Vinayavijaya, Sāmācāriśataka (1616 A. D.) of Samayasundara, and several other works. Final redaction of the Canon made by Devardhhi notes the variations of the Valabhī Vācanā indicated there as कथन्तरेषु, and the commentators of the texts have added many more under the head नागार्जुनीयास्तु पठन्ति (i. e. the followers of the Nāgārjuna school read this way).

2 This work has been referred to by Hemacandra in his grammar (PT, Vol. IV, p. 91). There its authorship has been ascribed to Vāmana (R. C. Parikh, op. cit, pp. 76-77).

9. It is said that Malla Vādin had written a Tīppaṇa or gloss on Dharmottara's commentary on the Nyāyabindu of the Buddhist scholar Dharmakīrti.¹ There is a tradition that he wrote a commentary on the Sanmatitarka of Sidhhasena Divākara, which is another great work on jaina logic. Ācārya Hemacandra has paid a glowing tribute to Malla in his Sidhha-Hema grammar, calling him the foremost among logicians.² In addition to the Prabhāvakacarita, the traditional account of this Jaina scholar is also found in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (1305 A. D.) of Merutuṅga, the Prabandhakośa (1349 A. D.) of Rājasekhara, and several other works.

Cultural and Literary life at Śrīmāla

10. Valabhī fell at the hands of the Arabs from Sind most probably in 789 A. D., as given by Jinaprabhasūri, the author of the Vividhatīrthakalpa.³ This was the final attack of the Arabs by which the glory of Valabhī was extinguished. "After the overthrow of Valabhī its place as chief city of western India was taken by Aṇahilvād, which retained that honour until the fifteenth century, when it was superseded by Ahmedabad."⁴ But before we come to Aṇahilvād, it is necessary to have a glance at the cultural life that was prevailing at Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla, which was the first capital of the Gurjaras who gave the name Gujarāt to the province where they finally settled. Even after Bhinnamāla ceased to be the capital, it was the people who hailed from the place that mostly made the history of Gujarāt. Vastupāla himself belonged to the Prāgvāṭa community, which came from Śrīmāla.

11. On the authority of Yuan-chang, we may say that Bhinnamāla which lies fifty miles west of Mount Ābu was in the seventh century A. D. the capital of a Gurjara kingdom whose circuit was more than 830 miles.⁵ The

1 Some scholars put Dharmottara in the 8th century A. D. (Vidyābhūṣaṇa, History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, pp. 34-35). The grammarian Vāman to whom Hemacandra has ascribed the authorship of the Viśrāntavidyādhara probably lived in the sixth century, according to Macdonell (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 432) and others. If Malla Vādin who wrote the Tīppaṇa on Dharmottara is not different from the author of the Nayacakra, there might be some inaccuracy in the traditional date given by the Prabhāvakacarita. For a discussion of the date of Malla Vādin, vide Vidyābhūṣaṇa, A History of Indian Logic, pp. 194 f., where Malla Vādin is assigned to the 9th century A. D. by taking the traditional date in the Vikrama (or Śaka) era instead of the Vira era. Jambuvijaya (Viśāla Bhārata, Vol. XLIII, p. 415), however, upholds the traditional date adducing various reasons in its favour.

2 अनुसङ्गवादिनं तर्किकाः—Brhatṭīkā on the Sidhha-Hema (II. ii. 39).

3 H. G. Shastri, IHQ, Vol. 23, pp. 248 ff.

4 Smith, Early History of India, pp. 314-15.

5 Now-a-days Bhinnamāla is not included in the limits of Gujarāt proper. But it is well-known that at least upto the sixteenth century Gujarāt and Rājasthān were one from cultural and linguistic points

present ruins of that city, objects of interest in it and its surroundings, several old inscriptions which are found there and also the mythological and traditional account of the city given in the work known as the Śrīmālapurāṇa—are enough to prove that the site of the present Bhinnamāla was once a large and flourishing city.¹ The Prabhāvākacarita (ch. XIV-XV) gives fine descriptions of Śrīmāla, and as late as 1612 A. D. an English merchant Nicholas Ufflet has spoken of its fortifications, enclosing a circuit of thirtysix miles, containing many fine tanks going to ruins,² of which almost no trace remains now-a-days.

12. Just like Valabhipur, the capital city of Śrīmāla was also a centre of Brahmanical and Jaina learning, and on the authority of Yuan-chang we may say that Buddhism also prevailed there. According to the Śrīmālapurāṇa, Śrīmāla had one thousand Brahmasālās and four thousand Maṭhas where different branches of learning were taught (Adhyāya 12, verse 22; and also Adhyāya 71); and the Purāṇa says that:—

चतुर्वेदाः सङ्गाश्च त्वुपनिषत्सहितास्तथा । सर्वशास्त्राणि वर्तन्ते श्रीमाले श्रीनिकेतने ॥

(Adhyāya 71, verse 9)

13. But the first authentic source of information about Bhinnamāla is an inscription of Varmalāta, who, according to the Prabhāvākacarita was a king of Bhinnamāla. This inscription is dated V. S. 682 (= 626 A. D.). This is probably the same Varmalāta who is referred to by Māgha in the Praśasti of his Śiśupālavadha. If this identity is accepted, we can place Māgha, who according to tradition, was a poet of Śrīmāla, 50 years after this, or considering his reference to Jinēndrabudhi's Nyāsa on the Kāśikā, about 700 A. D.,³ for Suprabhadēva, the grandfather of Māgha was prime minister of Varmalāta, the name of the poet's father being Dattaka who was addressed as Sarvāśraya by the people for his friendliness towards all. It may be that Māgha ended every canto of his poem with the word Śrī for which he is called Śryāmka with a view to commemorate his city Śrīmāla.⁴

14. Another great name from Śrīmāla is that of the astronomer Brahmagupta who completed his work Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta in Śaka Samvat

of view, and hence the name 'Old Western Rajasthān' given by scholars like Tessitori to a language which is properly speaking Old Gujarātī. During the Caulukya times, politically as well as culturally Gujarāt included north Gujarāt as well as Rājasthān, and Lāta or South Gujarāt was added later on only after its final conquest by Sidhharāja Jayasinha. It is possible that Gujarāt and Rājasthān developed in their own individual ways after a Sultanate, independent of Delhi, was established at Ahmedabad in the fifteenth century.

1 For detailed account of the ruins of Bhinnamāla, vide Jackson's paper in the appendix of the EG, Voi. I, pt. I.

2 Ibid, Vol. I. pt. I, p. 449.

3 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 124.

4 R. C. Parikh, op. cit, pp. 95-96.

550, that is, 628 A. D., when Vyāghramukha of the cāpa dynasty was ruling there. On account of the city of his residence Brahmagupta is famous in Indian literature as the Bhīllamālakācārya.

15. Jaina learning also greatly flourished at Śrīmālā. The famous Upamitibhavaprapaṇcācāthā of Sidhharṣi was completed there, according to the author's own statement, in V. S. 962 (= 906 A. D.). The Jaina literary form known as Dharmakāthā or religious novel, reaches its culmination in this allegorical kāthā-work. In the Prastāvi of the work, Sidhharṣi mentions in his genealogy of teachers the names of Sūryācārya of the Nirvṛtti Kula, Dellamahattara and Durgasvāmin, a wealthy Brahmin who had become a Jaina monk, and who died at Bhīnnamālā.¹ He then speaks with enthusiasm and great respect of the Ācārya Haribhadra to whom he is indebted for enlightenment in the true religion and of whom he has spoken in Book I of his work as the "awakener of true knowledge of the religion" (Dharmabodhakara). These words would lead one to believe that Haribhadra must have been the immediate teacher of the poet. Nevertheless that is impossible if we consider the date of Haribhadrasūri (701-771 A. D.) established on most unimpeachable authority by Ācārya Jinavijayaji.² And we may safely assume, as Jinavijayaji has done, that Sidhharṣi pays Haribhadra such a glowing tribute only because he has derived the greatest inspiration from his writings. Sidhharṣi says that he chose the form of allegory in order to attract the readers, and for the same reason he wrote in Sanskrit, and not in Prākṛit, because Prākṛit is for the uneducated, whilst even the educated are to be won over to the true doctrine from their heretical views. Upamitibhavaprapaṇcācāthā is the first long Sanskrit work composed by a Jaina author, and that shows how by that time the Jains found it necessary to write in Sanskrit instead of Prākṛit in order to appeal to the whole world of Indian scholarship. The great popularity that Sidhharṣi's work enjoyed among the Jains is shown by the fact that only 100 years after its appearance, extracts and abridgments were made from it, and even Hemacandra uses names in one of the stories in the Paṇḍarīkāparvan, which presupposes that it was universally known.³ Sidhharṣi also made a Sanskrit version of Prākṛit Candraprabhacaritra, wrote commentaries on the Prākṛit Upadeśamālā of Dharmadāsa Gaṇi and on the Nyāyāvatāra of Sidhhasena Divākara.

16. As seen above Śrīmālā was one of the centres of activity of Haribhadrasūri, the author of many important works on Jaina philosophy, and a general work on the schools of Indian philosophy known as the Saṅghaśāsanamuccaya, a long Prākṛit Dharmakāthā named Samarāṇcācāthā, a satirical kāthā-work like the Dhūrtākhyāna, a number of religious Prakaraṇas

1 In the Jaina temple of the same city Sidhharṣi first recited his work and the nun Gaṇā, a pupil of Durgasvāmin, first wrote it down.

2 Vide his Sanskrit paper on the date of Haribhadra in the Proceedings of the First All India Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. I, pp. 124-34.

3 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 532.

and Sanskrit commentaries on several Jaina canonical works. He is perhaps the first among those Jaina authors who commented in Sanskrit on the original Prākṛit Sūtras. While utilizing the old Prākṛit commentaries he retained the narratives in their original Prākṛit form.

17. Another ancient Prākṛit Dharmakathā—the Kuvalayamālā of Udyotanasūri was composed at Jābālipura (modern Jhalor in Mārvāḍ), a town not very far away from Bhinnamālā, in Śāka era 700, that is 778 A. D. On the author's own statement in the Praśasti, Tattvācārya had given him initiation in the religious order. In addition to this, the author has mentioned two of his Vidyāgurus: One of them was Virabhadra who had got constructed a temple of the first Tīrthamkara Ādinātha in Jābālipura. He had taught the author Jain religious tenets. The other was Haribhadra, composer of many Śāstras, who had taught him logic. Thus Haribhadra was a senior contemporary of Udyotanasūri. In the genealogy of his teachers the author has referred to an Ācārya named Devagupta who was a Mahākavi, and his pupil Śivacandra, who had selected Śrīmālā as the place of his residence (Verses 5-7.).¹

18. These few instances will suffice to give an idea of the active literary life of Śrīmālā, which was the immediate inspiring model of Anāhilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ. In this period, upto 953 A. D. Śrīmālā seems to have remained as the most important city in Gurjara Des'a.² Immediately after that, during the reign of one Bhimasena, a migration of 18000 Gurjars from Śrīmālā is recorded. According to the Śrīmālā Purāṇa, Śrī left that city in V. S. 1203 (1147 A.D.).³ If this statement is to be believed, there must have been a great exodus of population from Śrīmālā to Northern Gujarāt and to Anāhilavāḍ in particular. Most of the Brāhmins and Baniās, and a large number of artisan classes of Gujarāt trace their place of origin in Mārvāḍ, and some of them in Śrīmālā proper and its suburbs. Śrīmālī Brāhmins and Baniās, Prāgvāṭa (Porvāḍ = staying in the eastern part of Śrīmālā) Baniās and Śrīmālī Sonis (gold-smiths) are, as is evident from their caste-names, from Śrīmālā proper. Anāhilavāḍ had profited at the expense of Śrīmālā, by the migration of this great refugee population, and we find later on how the Śrīmālīs and Prāgvāṭas had made their contribution to the political, cultural and religious life of Gujarāt. We see some of them as great administrators and generals, proficient composers of literary works, builders of monuments and religious leaders of their times.

Literary and Scholarly traditions of Anāhilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ

19. Anāhilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ was already founded several centuries before the decline of Bhinnamālā, in V. S. 802,⁴ i. e. in 746 A. D., by Vanarāja, a chief of the Cāvaḍā clan, on the site of an old village Lākḥārām on the bank of the

1 Jinavijayaji's Paper on the Kuvalayamālā in the Vasant Rajat Mahotsava Smarak Granth (Gujarati), pp. 270-71.

2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 107.

3 Ibid., p. 102.

4 For discussion of the date vide R. C. Modi's paper in the Kāntamālā (Guj.).

river Sarasvatī in North Gujarāt.¹ Looking to the fact that we have no contemporary records, no inscriptions and no coins of the Cāvaḷās, and that they are referred to as robbers in works like the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*,² we are justified in assuming that their sway extended to only a limited region surrounding their capital town. Their rule came to an end in 942 A. D., when Mūlarāja, nephew of the last Cāvaḍā ruler Sāmantasimha, usurped the throne after murdering his maternal uncle, who was addicted to drink and had given away his kingdom to Mūlarāja in a spell of intoxication. Even during these times, when Anahilvād was a small principality, we find at least one instance which characteristically shows how the literary life of Bhinnamālā had continued at places around Anahilvād. We have already mentioned that one Tattvācārya was preceptor of Udyotanasūri, the author of the *Kuvalaya-mālā* (see supra Para 17). It is possible to identify him with Śīlācārya or Śīlāmkācārya who wrote learned commentaries on the first two Aṅgas of the Jaina canon—viz. the *Ācārāṅga* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, in Gambhutā (modern Gāmbhu), only a few miles from Pāṭaṇ. This identification is based on the fact that the said commentator Śīlāṅka was also known as Tattvāditya, which is just an equivalent of Tattvācārya. Moreover, in the 12th verse of the Praśasti of the *Kuvalayamālā*, while mentioning Tattvācārya, the author has, through a pun, referred to Śīlāṅka.³ There is also a tradition that Śīlāmkācārya was identical with Śīlaguṇasūri, the Guru of Vanarāja, the founder of Anahilvād Pāṭaṇ.⁴ The Jaina tradition says that Vanarāja and his mother were protected by Śīlaguṇasūri, when Vanarāja's father was killed and his kingdom was usurped by the enemies.

20. Mūlarāja, the first ruler of the illustrious Caulukya dynasty that reigned at Anahilvād, was a great general and a far-sighted statesman; and developed the Gujarāt kingdom from the small principality that he got from the Cāvaḍās. He overcame Bārappa, the viceroy of the Deccan Caulukyas in Lāṭa; destroyed the formidable Graharipu of Saurāṣṭra; and subdued Lākṣhā Phulāṇī of Kachha. He built the famous Rudramahālaya at Sidhhapura, which was one of the greatest architectural monuments of the Caulukya period; and invited the learned Brahmins of Uttarāpatha to come and settle in

1 26th Kalpa of the VTK of Jinaprabha. Also R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 203-4.

2 PC, p. 14.

3 तस्स वि सीसो तत्ताअरिओ त्ति णाम पयडुणो । असि तवतेयणिज्जियपविगयमोहो [दिग्धर व्व] ॥ ११ ॥
[जो दूसमसल्लिपवाहवेपहीरन्तगुणसहस्साण] सीलंगविडलसालो लक्खणरुक्खो व निक्कपो ॥ १२ ॥
—Vasant Rajat Mahotsava Smarak Granth (Guj.), p. 269.

It must be noted here that though the said identification is quite probable, it cannot be considered final until the problem of the date of the composition of the commentary of the *Ācārāṅga*, which is tentatively believed by some as 877 A. D. (JSI, p. 181), is finally settled. see Jinavijayaji, *Jitakalpasūtra*, introduction.

4 Muniratna in his poem *Amamacaritra* says about Śīlāṅka—

गुरुर्गुरराजस्य चातुर्विधैकसष्टिहृत् । त्रिषष्टिनरसद्वृत्तकविर्वाचां न गोचरः ॥

Gujarāt.¹ It was in times of Mularāja that the name 'Gujarāt' began to be used for the province.² Cultural and literary expansion came in the wake of political expansion and reached its height in the times of Sidhharāja Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla in the twelfth century. Though peace of Gujarāt was seriously disturbed for some time by the terrible onslaught of Mahmud of Gaznā (1024 A. D.) during the rule of Bhīmadeva I (1022-1064 A. D.), the general literary culture was a matter of continuous growth. After the foundation of the Gurjara empire at Anahilvād pāṭaṇ we find an intensive literary activity mostly of the Jaina scholars and poets especially in the region of Northern Gujarāt. Out of them, Śāntisūri (11th century) and Nemicandra (1073 A. D.), the authors of two separate commentaries on the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, which are very useful to the scholar and the student respectively; Abhayadevasūri (1064 A. D.), who wrote learned commentaries on the nine Aṅgas of the Jain Canon and hence was known as the Navāṅgī-vṛttikāra, and Droṇācārya, who revised these commentaries; and two brothers—Jineśvara and Buddhīśāgara (first half of the 11th century) who wrote on various religious and secular subjects—deserve special mention.³

21. From all available evidence we gather that the poets and dialecticians of the different sects from many parts of India visited the capital of Gurjaradeśa. And even in the case of the learned men of the Jaina sect, their erudition is more shown by their proficiency in logic and the art of dialectics, mastery of all the schools of philosophy, their thorough grounding in grammar and the science of language, and their cleverness in poetic composition.⁴ Tarka, Lakṣaṇa and Sāhitya or logic, grammar and poetics are some of the main subjects that formed the common field of intellectual activity in India, and these three are specially mentioned as the Vidyātrayī by the Jaina writers from Gujarāt.⁵

22. There was a keen cultural rivalry between Anahilavād and Dhārā, or so to say, between Gujarāt and Mālvā. The scholars of one region were going to the other to fight the intellectual battle on behalf of their country.⁶ On account of this rivalry the general cultural life of Mālvā and Gujarāt together was a matter of continuous growth, though the rulers were fighting continuously and causing some political disturbances. When Gujarāt and Mālvā did not form one political unit, they often waged bitter wars against each other, and as a result, were joined together when Sidhharāja Jayasīṃha finally conquered Mālvā in 1136-37 A. D.⁷

1 Descendants of those Brāhmins are now-a-days known as the Udīcya or Audīcya Brāhmins.

2 B. J. Śāndesarā, *Itihāsanī Keḍī* (Guj.), pp. 131 ff.

3 These are only a few out of a large number of works composed in Anahilvād and adjoining regions. The curious reader is referred to a book like the *Jain Sāhityano Itihāsa* (Guj.) by M. D. Desai, for details.

4 R. C. Parikh, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40.

5 B. J. Śāndesarā, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

6 R. C. Parikh, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

7 D. K. Shastri, *GMRI* (Guj.), Vol. I. p. 245.

23. Sidhharāja Jayasīṃha (1094-1143 A. D.) is the most remembered of all the kings of Gujarāt. He still lives in the folk-literature and folk-dramas. Like Vikrama and Bhoja, he has almost become a legendary figure. In fact, it appears to have been the ambition of Jayasīṃha to emulate Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in all fields of life.¹ His court had become a favourite place for scholars coming from different parts of India. Important debates like that between Digambara Kumudacandra and Śvetāmbara Vādi Devasūri were held in his court, and he used to preside on such occasions, which shows that he was sufficiently conversant with different branches of learning prevalent in his times.² He found in Hemacandra a great literary figure who could compose works which would stand side by side the literary glories of Mālvā.

24. The celebrated Hemacandra was a pupil of Devacandra. He was one of the most versatile and prolific writers, who worked in the most varied domains, both as a poet and a scholar. It was due to him that Gujarāt became a main stronghold of the Śvetāmbara Jains and has remained so for centuries, and that Jaina literature flourished so exceedingly there in the 12th and the 13th centuries. He was not, however, only the author of Jinistic works, but in addition, he provided Gujarāt with important text-books on secular branches of learning (grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics), so that he was called "The Omniscient of the Kali age" (Kalikālasarvajña). He was born at Dandhukā, a town in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad in 1089 A. D. as the son of a merchant. His parents were pious Jains, and in his early childhood he was already destined for the life of a monk. As a Jaina teacher he spent the greater part of his life in the capital of Gujarāt. When Sidhharāja returned triumphant from a war with Mālvā, learned men of Aṇahilavāḍ had waited upon him to offer their congratulations. Sidhharāja, jealous of the literary glory of Ujjayinī, asked Hemacandra to write a Grammar, and procured for the scholar all the grammars available then from different parts of the country. Hemacandra compiled his famous text-book of grammar, and associating his name with that of the monarch, called it Sidhha-Hemacandra. Sidhharāja got copies of it made, and sent them to various kingdoms of India. Twenty copies were sent to Kāshmir, the then home of learning. Hemacandra also composed two Dvyāśraya Mahākāvyas—one Sanskrit and another Prākṛit—in which, while illustrating the rules of Sanskrit and Prākṛit Grammar, he celebrated the glories of his two patrons, Sidhharāja and his successor Kumārāpāla (1143-1174 A. D.) along with an authentic poetical history of their dynasty. There is scarcely any branch of literature in which Hemacandra has not given his special contribution. One of his junior contemporaries, Somaprabhācārya, has succinctly described his literary achievements in the following śloka—

कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं नवं विरचितं छन्दो नवं द्रव्याश्रयालंकारौ प्रथितौ नवौ प्रकटितं श्रीयोगशास्त्रं नवम् ।
तर्कः सञ्ज्ञितो नवो जिनवरादीनां चरित्रं नवं बद्धं येन न केन केन विधिना मोहः कृतो दूरतः ॥

1 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 162.

2 We find a fine delineation of the debate between Kumudacandra and Devasūri, and also of Jayasīṃha and his court in a historical play by Yaśaścandra, viz. the *Mudritakumudacandra Prakaraṇa*.

"He composed a new Grammar—the *Sidhha-Hemacandra*, a new science of metrics—the *Chandonuśāsana*, two *Dvyāśraya-Kāvya*s and the *Kavyānuśāsana*, a new *Yogaśāstra*, a new logic—the *Pramāṇamimāṃsā*, and a new biography of the *Jinas* etc—the *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacaritra* and the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*. In what way has he not removed our ignorance?"

In addition to these works Hemacandra wrote *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, a dictionary of homonyms; *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, a dictionary of synonyms; *Deśināmamālā*, a lexicon of non-Sanskritic *Prākṛit* words; *Nighaṇṭuseṣa* in three volumes, two of them dealing with medicine and botany, and the third with jewels; and also a number of philosophical *stotras*.¹ Not only Gujarāt and the Jaina community owe a great debt of gratitude to Hemacandra but he has a place of honour in general Sanskrit Literature.²

25. Jayasimha's successor Kumārapāla (1143-1174 A. D.), originally a devotee of Śiva, was greatly influenced by Jinistic teachings of Hemacandra, and considered him as his Guru. As a result of Hemacandra's teaching Kumārapāla renounced hunting, and prohibited in his entire realm the slaughter of animals, the eating of meat and the drinking of intoxicants, dice-playing, animal-fighting and betting. He erected Jaina temples, and favoured the literary efforts of the Jains. In his honour Hemacandra has called his second *Dvyāśraya Kāvya*, which illustrates the rules of the *Prākṛit* part of his Grammar, *Kumārapālacarita*, and has described therein the life of Kumārapāla as a pious Jaina. During the reign of these two kings, Jayasimha and Kumārapāla, not only Hemacandra and his disciples, but a large number of poets and scholars, both Jaina and non-Jaina, wrote their works; and Gujarāt enjoyed a period of intense literary activity.

26. Hemacandra's educational work seems to have been no less fruitful than his literary activities. A number of his pupils have left works on various branches of Sanskrit literature.³ Chief among those pupils was Rāmacandra, a great lover of personal freedom,⁴ notable dramatist, and author of a rare work on dramaturgy, viz. the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. Another pupil of Hemacandra, Guṇacandra, had collaborated with Rāmacandra in writing the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. The work contains quotations from Viśākhadatta's lost drama *Devicandragupta*, which have proved of great value in reconstructing a forgotten chapter in the Gupta history. It also contains references to a number of Sanskrit plays, extant and non-extant, some of them by the author himself. Dhanañjaya's work, *Daśarūpaka* (10th century A. D.), must have been known to Rāmacandra, yet his *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* seems to have been composed on original lines. He seems to embody in this work some traditions about the types of drama and the nature and classifications of *Rasas*, which are different from Bharata. Out of about two dozen Sanskrit plays written in Gujarāt, not less than eleven are

1 For life and works of Hemacandra vide Bühler, the *Life of Hemacandrācārya*; R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pt. I, and M. C. Modi, *Hema-Samikṣā* (Guj.).

2 Winternitz, foreword to Bühler, op. cit.

3 B. J. Śāndesarā, op. cit., pp. 25 ff. (paper on 'Hemacandrācārya's disciples').

4 Ibid, pp. 35 ff.

from the pen of Rāmacandra. Rāmacandra has written at least four varieties of Sanskrit drama—viz. Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Nāṭikā, and Vyāyoga.

27. Among other pupils of Hemacandra we have the names of Mahendra-sūri, who wrote a commentary on the Anekārthakośa of Hemacandra; Devacandra, the author of a historical play Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa, which describes Kumārapāla's conquest of Arjorāja, the king of Sapādalakṣa or Śākambharī (modern Sāmbhar in Rājputānā), and his marriage with Arjorāja's sister; Vardhamāna Gaṇi, who had written an erudite commentary on the Kumāravihārapraśasti Kāvya of Rāmacandra, describing a temple Kumāravihāra built by Kumārapāla; Udayacandra, who had corrected some grammatical mistakes in the Yogaśātra of Hemacandra; Yaśaścandra, who has been referred to in the Prabhāvakacarita¹ and the Kumārapālaprabandha;² and lastly Bālacandra, who was partly responsible for the cruel death of Rāmacandra at the hand of king Ajayapāla, successor of Kumārapāla and a hater of the Jainas.³ Tradition credits Hemacandra with a large number of pupils,⁴ and it is possible that he had many more than those mentioned above.

28. Among notable contemporaries of Hemacandra we may mention the blind poet-laureate of Sidhharāja, viz. Śrīpāla who came from a Prāgvyāta family. He had written a Praśasti of the famous Sahasraliṅga lake constructed by Sidhharāja, only a fragment of which has been preserved on a slab found in a temple at Pāṭaṇ.⁵ It is also said that he had written the Praśasti of the Rudramahālaya,⁶ which was repaired by Sidhharāja. At the end of his famous Praśasti of the fort of Vaḍnagar composed in 1150 A. D. during the reign of Kumārapāla, Śrīpāla says about himself—

एकाहलिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धः श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबन्धुः ।
श्रीपालनामा कविवक्त्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत्प्रशस्ताम् ॥⁷

The Mahāprabandha which is referred to here must be none other than the Vairocanavijaya mentioned in the Prabhāvakacarita.⁸ Śrīpāla was a friend of Sidhharāja and chief among the poets at his court. About his rivalry and contact with Devabodha of the Bhāgavata sect who had come to Ayahilavād, as also with other scholars, we get a wealth of information from the Prabandhas.⁹ We also find that some of the contemporary poets were coming to Śrīpāla for getting their works revised.¹⁰

1 Ch. 22, v. 739.

2 p. 188.

3 PK, p. 98; PPS, p. 49; PC, p. 97.

4 Bühler, op. cit., p. 60.

5 R. C. Modi, Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 649 ff.

6 JSI, pp. 235 f.

7 Prācīna Lekhamālā, Pt. I, no. 45.

8 BP, Vol. 77, p. 35.

9 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 255 ff.

10 SI, pp. 235 ff.

29. It is an interesting fact that Śrīpāla's son Sidhhapāla also was a good poet, and Somaprabhācārya had composed his Prākṛit work, Kumārapālāprati-bodha, which has for its subject the sermons of the teacher Hemacandra to his royal disciple, while staying in the Upāśraya of Sidhhapāla, in 1185 A. D. Sidhhapāla's son Vijayapāla also was a dramatist, and we get one of his works, Draupadisvayamvara, which was performed at Anahilvād at the order of Bhīmadeva II in the Tripuraśaprāsāda built by Mūlarāja.¹ It is not a frequent occurrence in history of literature when favour of the Muse has been continuously showered in this way on three successive generations.

30. Among other authors of this period worthy of mention is Vāgbhaṭa, the author of Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra, a work on poetics. This author is often confused with the minister Vāgbhaṭa, son of minister Udayana, and also with another Vāgbhaṭa, son of Nemikumāra, who wrote a work on poetics called the Kāvyaṇuśāsana and who flourished later. But these three are really different persons. Our author was the son of Soma. He was a follower of Jaina religion, as is evident from the benedictory verses of his work. As prof. R. C. Parikh has rightly inferred, this work must have been finished between Jayasīma's conquest of Mālvā (1136 A. D.), and his death (1143 A. D.), because it refers to the said victory and has no verse in praise of Kumārapāla.²

31. Two other notable Sanskrit plays of the time are the Pārthaparā-kramavyāyoga of Prahlādanadeva (About 1170 A. D.) and Moharājapārājaya of Yaśaḥpāla (between 1174 and 1177 A. D.). Prahlādanadeva, the author of the former play was a brother of Dhārāvārṣa, the lord of Candrāvati, and a feudatory of Kumārapāla. It was acted on the occasion of the festival of the investment of Acaleśvara, the tutelary deity of Mount Ābu, with the sacred thread, as is mentioned in the Prastāvanā, and claims to exhibit the sentiment of excitement (Diptarasa). The story, taken from the Virāṭa Parvan of the Mahābhārata, is a well-known episode of the recovery by Arjuna of the cows of Virāṭa, raided by the Kauravas, and the defeat of the raiders. The poet, whose fame as a warrior and whose princely generosity are extolled by Vastupāla's friend Someśvara in his poem Kīrtikaumudī, claims for his poetry the merits of smooth composition and clearness. Technically the play is of some interest, because immediately after the Nāndī the Sthāpaka enters, recites a couple of stanzas, and then an actor comes on the stage who addresses him, but is answered by the Sūtradhāra; apparently the two terms are considered synonymous by the author of the play or the later tradition. Moreover, the final benediction is allotted not to Arjuna, the hero of the play, but to Vāsava, who appears at the close of the play in a celestial chariot in company with the Apsarasas to bestow his blessing.³ Prahlādana wrote other works, of which some verses are preserved in anthologies; he must have been a man of considerable ability and merit. He is the only author in Gujarāt, who after Rāmacandra has attempted the form of Vyāyoga. It is also interesting

1 B. J. Sāndesarā, op. cit., p. 60.

2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 262.

3 Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 265.

to note that he was the founder of the city of Prahādanapur or Pālanpur in north Gujarāt.

32. Moharājaparājaya was composed by Yaśaḥpāla, the Jaina minister of Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla. Apparently the play was written during the reign of Ajayapāla (1174-77 A. D.), and was performed on the occasion of the Yātramahotsava of the idol of Mahāvīra at the Kumāravihāra, a temple erected by Kumārapāla, at Thārāpada (modern Tharād in the Banāskānṭhā district), where the author seems to have been governor or only a resident. The play is an example of a Jaina allegory of comparatively early date. It describes the conversion of Kumārapāla to Jainism, his prohibition of the killing of animals, and his cessation from the practice of confiscating the property of persons dying without heirs (Rudativitta) in his realm, as a result of the efforts of the famous sage, Hemacandra. The title of the play means "conquest on king Moha or ignorance", and all the personages in it, save the king, Hemacandra and the Vidūsaka, are the personifications of qualities, good and evil.¹ The play is certainly not without merits. In the main it is written in simple Sanskrit, and is free from the artifices which disfigure more pretentious plays, and it has the merit of bringing vividly before us the activities of Jainism in the regulation of Kumārapāla's kingdom, throwing an interesting light on what is known from inscriptions and other sources of the history of Gujarāt. Interesting details are given of the different forms of gambling and of the sects which approve slaughter. The Prākritis are, of course, deeply influenced by Hemacandra's grammar.² We may profitably compare this allegorical play with an earlier piece, viz. the Prabodha-candrodaya of Kṛṣṇamiśra (11th century) which may have influenced it to a certain extent.

33. A great Sanskrit commentator of the Jaina canonical works was Ācārya Malayagiri. In addition to writing commentaries on several Jaina Āgamas he has commented upon a number of non-canonical works, and has written a Sanskrit grammar called the Muṣṭivyaḥkaraṇa ('concise grammar'). Malayagiri has not given any personal information in his works nor has he mentioned the date of composition in any of them. But he has referred to "the reign of Kumārapāla" in some of them, and has given an illustration—*अरुणत् कुमारपालोऽरातीन्* in his grammar.³ Hence it is evident that Malayagiri must have lived in or about the reign of Kumārapāla. In his commentaries we find both great scholarship and lucidity side by side and so they are very important for the student. We have four great names among the Sanskrit commentators of the Āgama—viz. Haribhadra, Śīlāṅka, Abhayadeva, and Malayagiri. Malayagiri is last but not the least of them. It is noteworthy in the history of Jaina literature that though the original canon was composed in Magadha, the final redaction of it and all the commentaries on it have been written in the Gurjaradeśa.

1 Ibid, pp. 253 f.

2 Ibid, pp. 255 f.

3 JSI, pp. 273 f. As the verb is in aorist, it may be assumed that the sentence refers to very recent happenings.

34. Leaving the reign of Kumārapāla and his successors and coming further to the end of the 12th century A. D., we get a work which is valuable for the study of the whole of the Indian Kathā-literature. That work is the Pañcākhyāna of the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra. It was composed in 1199 A. D., when probably Vastupāla and his brother Tejapāla were in their teens. Pañcākhyāna is a version of the Western Indian Pañcatantra, the Textus Simplicior, which is the most famous recension of the original, showing clear influence of the Tantrākhyāyikā, that is, the Kāshmirian recension of the Pañcatantra, and containing additions of a few stories from some unknown source, probably from folk-lore. But the real merit of the work lies in the fact that the author has edited the whole Textus Simplicior carefully, because by his time its text had become very corrupt. He had undertaken this editing at the instance of one Soma Mantrin,¹ who has not been properly identified as yet. As stated in the colophon of the work, he had revised the original text word by word,² and prepared "a new version, the like of which does not exist anywhere".³ We must admit that this is not an editing of the Pañcatantra in the modern sense according to the science of textual criticism, but it is clear that Pūrṇabhadra must have collected a number of manuscripts belonging to different schools and corrected the readings of the Textus Simplicior, which was enjoying great popularity in India, and hence had become full of textual corruptions. The success of Pūrṇabhadra is attested by the fact that at a number of places in the Western Indian Pañcatantra we can arrive at a correct reading and logical interpretation only by accepting the reading supplied by him.⁴

35. This is but a short account of only some of the prominent literary figures and literary works of the Gurjaradeśa. Hundreds of works in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa and also in a post-Apabhraṃśa dialect which must have been current in those days in the province were composed at Anahilvāḍ and various parts of the Caulukya kingdom of Gujarāt, from the days of Mūlarāja upto Karṇa Vāghelā, the last Hindu king who ruled at Anahilvāḍ (1296-1304) and even after that right upto the 18th century. They cover all the branches of literature, both religious and secular, and because a greater part of all this literary treasure has remained unpublished, in Bhāṇḍārs accessible only to a few scholars, it has not been better known to the students at large, and one has to be satisfied by merely having a glance at the descriptive catalogues prepared by research-workers over a whole generation.

1 श्रीसोममन्त्रिवचनेन विशीर्णवर्णमालोक्य शास्त्रमखिलं खलु पञ्चतन्त्रम् ।

श्रीपूर्णभद्रगुरुणा गुरुणादरेण संशोधितं नृपतिनीतिविवेचनाय ॥

2 प्रत्यक्षरं प्रतिपदं प्रतिवाक्यं प्रतिकथं प्रतिश्लोकम् ।

श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरिविशोषयामास शास्त्रमिदम् ॥

3 प्रत्यन्तरं न पुनरस्त्यमुना क्रमेण कुत्रापि किञ्चन जगत्पि निश्चयो मे ।

किंवाचसत्कविपदाक्षतबीजमुष्टिः सित्ता मया मतिजलेन जगाम वृद्धिम् ॥

4 For illustrations vide B. J. Sāndesarā, Pañcatantra (Guj.), pp. 11-12n., 242-43n., 327n., 330n., 331-32n., 333n., etc.

36. *Aṇahilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ* was the nerve-centre of the vast Gurjar dominion which at its zenith in the reign of Kumārapāla extended from Konkaṇ in the south to the whole of Rājputānā in the north, and from Cutch and Saurāṣṭra in the west and the border-land of Sind in the north-west to the whole of Mālvā in the east. Seeds of disruption of the Gujarāt power were already sown in the last days of Kumārapāla's life¹ Though the decline is clearly visible during the reign of Bhimadeva II (1179-1242 A. D.) who was the third ruler from Kumārapāla—the intermediate two rulers enjoying power for a very short time—the glory of Gujarāt shone bright again in the time of Viradhavala Vāghelā and his great ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Considering very important position which Pāṭaṇ enjoyed throughout the mediaeval Hindu rule in Western India, we would be well-advised to have again a glance at the splendour of that great city.

37. There is no evidence to show that during the Caulukya and the Vāghelā period there was anything like a system of census, such as we find in the Maurya times. But from several descriptions which we get of *Aṇahilvāḍ*, we have no hesitation in saying that it had an enormous population. At places it has been referred as the "Narasamudra" ("The ocean of men"). Naturally it was a great centre of trade and commerce. We have a number of important descriptions of the city in contemporary literary works. Descriptions by Hemacandra in his two *Dvyāśraya Kāvya*s, and by Someśvara in his *Kirtikaumudi* are very remarkable, and in spite of poetic exaggerations and embellishments, they are sufficiently realistic to guide the student's historical imagination.² The great lake *Sahasraliṅga*, built by *Sidhharāja*, which was surrounded by 1008 Śiva temples and 108 Devī temples, and the great *Kirtisambha* on which Śrīpāla's *Prasasti* of the lake was inscribed must have made the surroundings of *Aṇahilvāḍ* really magnificent. *Satrasālās* and *Maṭhas* providing for various departments of learning, where teachers and students were given free lodging, boarding and clothing by the state,³ must have made the area something like a University suburb. Every sect found a place, and all the schools of philosophy including Budhist logic⁴ were studied in the city. As we shall have occasion to see in the case of *Vastupāla*, general religious tolerance prevailed everywhere, and we have instances in which different members of a family professed different religions, keeping harmonious relations with one another. There are a number of cases in which persons of the ruling class had become Jaina monks, most interesting among them being that of *Droṇācārya* (para 20), who was a maternal uncle of *Bhīmadeva I* and of *Surācārya* who was a nephew as well as pupil of *Droṇācārya*.⁵

38. General culture of the city was at a high level, as mentioned in the foregoing pages. In addition to the *Vidyāmaṭhas* conducted by the state, the

1 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 229 f.

2 Ibid, p. 232.

3 Vide commentary on the *Skt. Dvyāśraya Kāvya*, I. 7.

4 *Prabhāvākacārīta*, XVI. 73.

5 *Surācārya* was also a great scholar and teacher. For the traditional account of his life, vide the *Prabhāvākacārīta*, ch. XVIII.

Caityas and Mathas of the different sects, in fact, were the academies and colleges where the Vidyātrayī and allied subjects were taught and discussed. It would be interesting to note that in Anāhilavāḍ and other towns Sanskrit plays were performed on festive occasions, and the people flocked to see them in great enthusiasm. This would not have been possible unless the common people understood the general sense of Sanskrit and Prākṛit dialogues. The plays were performed generally in the temples at the order of either the king or minister or a wealthy member of the merchant class. The Karṇasundarī Nāṭikā of the famous Kashmirian poet Bihlaṇa, composed during his short stay in Anāhilvāḍ in the reign of Karṇa Solamkī (1064-1094 A. D.), the father of Sidhharāja, was performed in the temple of Ādinātha at the instance of the minister Sampat-kara or Sāntu. Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa of Devacandra, one of Hemacandra's pupils (vide supra para 27), was performed in the Kumāravihāra for the entertainment of Kumārapāla's assembly. We have already referred to the acting of the Pārthaparākramavyāyoga of Prahlādana and the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśaḥpāla (see supra para 31-32). The Draupadīsvayamvara of Vijayapāla, who was definitely a contemporary of Vastupāla, and lived in the first half of the 13th century A. D., was acted in the Tripuruṣaprasāda on the occasion of the Vasantotsava at the order of Bhīmadeva II, and the Prabuddharauhiṇeya of Rāmabhadra, delineating the enlightenment of a thief Rauhiṇeya, a contemporary of Mahāvīra according to the Jaina stories, was enacted at Jhalor about year 1200 A. D. by two brothers and merchant-princes—Yaśovīra and Ajayapāla in a temple built by them.¹ We shall have occasion later on to review those plays which were got performed by Vastupāla and his family-members; but the instances given above are enough to support our main argument regarding the cultural conditions prevailing in Gujarāt. Gujarāt is perhaps the only province in India where merchants belonging to Vanik castes like Prāgvāṭa, Sṛimālī etc. were scholars (cf. ch. IV, last footnote). They composed Sanskrit and Prākṛit works not only of the Kāvya and Nāṭaka variety, but also works belonging to other branches of literature like poetics and philosophy. We find some of them who were less learned, requesting their teachers and preachers to write for their enlightenment books on different subjects. Getting the books copied down and also giving them as donation to deserving scholars as well as establishment of Bhāṇḍārs or manuscript-libraries were considered highly meritorious

1 B. J. Sāndesarā, op., cit., pp. 50 ff. We may note here in passing that even after the establishment of Muslim rule in Gujarāt and an independent Gujarātī Sultanate at Ahmedabad, the tradition of staging the Sanskrit plays had continued, at least in a few surviving Hindu states. About the year 1419 A. D. we have a nine-act play, the Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsa of Gaṅgādāra, a protege of Gaṅgādāsa, king of Chāmpāner, a hill-fort in the Panchamahāl district. It is a historical play based on a contemporary event describing the defeat of Sultan Muhammad II of Ahmedabad at the hand of Gaṅgādāsa. The play depicts the heroic sentiment, and it was performed at Chāmpāner in the assembly-hall of the shrine of the goddess Mahākālī.

deeds, as Jñāna or books was one of the seven Kṣetras enjoined by the Jaina religion for spending wealth. But this does not mean that literary activity in Gujarāt was restricted to the followers of the Jaina faith. Śaivism was the hereditary faith of the Caulukya dynasty, and the Purohita was generally a learned person. Someśvara, the friend and protege of Vastupāla, was one of those hereditary priests. It was through the good offices of one of his ancestors—Soma or Someśvara—that during the reign of Durlabharāja (1010–1022 A. D.) the Suvihita monks of Jain sect could get residence in Pāṭan in the teeth of opposition by the Caityavāsī monks of the same sect.¹ The king patronised learning; and poetry, scholarship and learned debates flourished at his court. Consequently, the Brahmins also must have composed a considerable number of literary works, because they had inherited the traditional lore through generations. But in comparison to the works composed by the Jainas, the Brahmin works which have survived are very small in number, many of the compositions being irretrievably lost. The reason of this lies in the fact that the Jaina works were carefully guarded in the Bhāṇḍārs which were a public property looked after by the whole community, while there was no such arrangement in respect of the other sect. It is especially noteworthy that several of the rarest Brahmanical and Budhhist works like the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara, the *Tattvopaplavasīmha* of Bhaṭṭa Jayarāsi and the original Sanskrit *Tattvasaṃgraha* were available only in the Jaina libraries. At any rate, in Gujarāt of the Caulukyās and the Vāghelās there was a good deal of toleration and intellectual understanding among the followers of both the faiths, which expressed itself powerfully in the varied literary output and a remarkable cultural co-operation in life. It was in these times that Vastupāla and his literary circle lived, and did their work.

1 *Prabhāvākaraṇa*, ch. XIX.

PART II

MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

AND

HIS LITERARY CIRCLE

CHAPTER II

SOURCES

39. Before coming to the life and works of Vastupāla it would be proper to mention the available sources which would supply the necessary data. The historian of mediaeval Gujarāt is fortunate in this respect that he gets copious material to deal with his subject. The data for the study of the work of Vastupāla and his literary circle can be divided under three heads—(1) literary sources, (2) epigraphic sources, and (3) monuments. Literary sources can be further subdivided into—(a) contemporary, and (b) later. We shall examine here briefly all the three kinds of sources.

Contemporary literary sources

40. As pointed out earlier, Vastupāla being a great patron of learning, the poets and scholars who came in contact with him have left many accounts of their patron, ranging from stray verses to the Mahākāvya. All those writings are highly important not only for the personal history of Vastupāla, but also for the history of Gujarāt, because the life of Vastupāla was intimately connected with contemporary history. At the same time, some of these works are fine specimens of Sanskrit poetry. In addition to the Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya by Vastupāla, in the last canto of which he gives an account of his family and of himself, we have the following contemporary literary sources for the study of our subject. Among the Mahākāvyas we get the Kīrtikaumudī and Surathotsava of Someśvara, the Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisīṃha, the Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra, and the Dharmābhyudaya or Saṃghapaticaritra of Udayaprabhasūri. The Kīrtikaumudī, the Sukṛtasamkīrtana and the Vasantavilāsa are the Mahākāvyas based on contemporary history, having Vastupāla as the hero. The former two works were written during the life-time of Vastupāla, and the third one, viz. the Vasantavilāsa was composed not long after his death, and thus the three works together supply a complete account of Vastupāla (ch. VI, section I), though it must be borne in mind that after all they are ornate poems, and do not give everything necessary for a biography as such in the modern sense. Though the Surathotsava takes a mythological theme, it seems to be a historical allegory, and has some bearing on the vicissitudes of king Bhīmadeva II (para 75) under whom Vastupāla first began his political career (para 47); and the historical portion in the Dharmābhyudaya is mainly devoted to the pilgrimages of Vastupāla as a pious Jaina (para 162-64). The play Hammiramadamardana (between 1220 and 1230 A. D.) of Jayasīṃhasūri is important for Vastupāla's political and military career, as it dramatizes his strategy in repulsing a Muslim on-slaught (para 200-202). The Revantagiri Rāsu by Vijayasensūri, Vastupāla's Guru, and the Ābu Rāsa (1233 A. D.) by a poet who calls himself Pālhaṇaputra ('son of Pālhaṇa') are poetical works in Apabhraṃśa and describe Vastupāla's pilgrimage to Revantagiri or Gīrnār and his building of temples on Ābu, respectively (vide chapter XIII). The Prabandhāvalī of Jinabhadra (1234 A. D.) is

also worthy of note, because it is the oldest specimen available of the Prabandha-form (vide chapter XI), and also because the author refers to some incidents of Vastupāla's life, which have proved to be helpful in solving important chronological problems (para 129). There are two small poetical works known as the Vastupālapraśasti by Narendraprabhasūri (para 122 and 216), one Vastupālapraśasti by Naracandrasūri (para 215), and also a Vastupālastuti by Udayaprabhasūri (para 214)—all of them describing the good deeds of Vastupāla. In addition to these contemporary compositions, there is a host of others, which though not devoted to the life of the hero, give important information in their Praśastis and colophons, and also by way of stray references in the body of the text.

Later literary sources

41. Among the later literary sources, the most important are the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga (1305 A. D.), the Prabandhakośa of Rājasekharasūri (1349 A. D.), and the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha, a collection of several Prabandhasaṁgrahas composed in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. The Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri (completed in 1333 A. D.) is also worthy of note. The Vastupālacarita of Jinaharṣa (1441 A. D.) is a detailed biography of Vastupāla and deserves a close study, because though composed about two centuries after the death of the hero, it supplies many authentic facts about him, which are not given even by contemporary authors, and is comparatively free from exaggerations. It seems that Jinaharṣa had utilized all the historical material which was available in his times, bearing on the life and works of Vastupāla. The Upadeśataraṅginī of Ratnamandiragaṇi (about 1461 A. D.), the Prabandhapañcaśatī or Kathākośa of Śubhaśilagaṇi (1453 A. D.), and the Upadeśasaptatī of So nadharma (1447 A. D.) are the Prabandha-works¹ of the 15th century, and all of them, especially the first, contain much that is important for the study of the cultural aspect of Vastupāla's life, and for his contact with several poets in the capacity of a patron. Several Jaina poets have written in old Gujarātī, poetical works called the Vastupāla Rāsa or Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa, and such Rāsas by Hīrānanda (1428 A. D.), Lakṣmīsāgara (after 1452 A. D.), Pārśvacandra (1541 A. D.), Samayasundara (1626 A. D.), and Meruvijaya (1665 A. D.) are available. Though these were written a long time after the death of Vastupāla, and in conventional pattern, some of them supply very significant data about the personal history of the hero, which are not given by any of the contemporary authors for one reason or another.

Epigraphic sources

42. As epigraphic sources we have a number of inscriptions of Vastupāla—some of them very short, of a few lines only, while others comparatively long like independent Kāvya, most of which have been published in various journals of Indology, and in collections like the Historical Inscriptions of

¹ For a historical and literary evolution of the Prabandha-form, vide chapter XI.

Gujarāt, Prācīna Jaina Lekha saṁgraha and Prācīna Lekhamālā. Most of the inscriptions are found on Ābu and Gīrnār, and a few on Tāraṁgā hills in North Gujarāt, at Dabhoi near Baroda, Aṇahilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ, Serisā near Ahmedabad—these being places where Vastupāla and his brother had built temples, and at Navuṁ Saṁgapur¹ near Vijāpur in the Mehsāṇā district. Though Udayaprabha's Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī (1221 A. D.) and Jayasīṁhasūri's Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti are not extant as inscriptions, they are found from the manuscripts.² There are two inscriptions from Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ known as the Sarasvatisadana Praśasti (1272 A. D.) and an incomplete inscription from Vanthali in Saurāṣṭra—which are of great value for the life of Nānāka, a Brahmin poet in the literary circle of Vastupāla (para 85-89). It hardly requires to be said that all these inscriptions are to be treated as contemporary sources, because most of them were written during the life-time of Vastupāla, and though the Vaidyanāthapraśasti (1255 A. D.) of Dabhoi composed by Someśvara, and the Sarasvatisadana Praśasti were written after his death, they are sufficiently near to his period to be considered as contemporary sources.

Monuments

43. Monuments are important for artistic and cultural history. Vastupāla and Tejapāla had erected a large number of monuments at various places in Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra (para 58-60), but no trace of them is to be seen now-a-days; only their temples on Ābu and Gīrnār have been preserved. The temple on Ābu is a memorable specimen of mediaeval Indian architecture, profusely decorated with sculpture of great excellence, and bears eloquent testimony to the fine taste and great munificence of its builders.

1 The inscription at Navuṁ Saṁgapur is the least known of all. It is a fragmentary inscription of the Vāghelā period, which respectfully mentions Vastupāla and Tejapāla as ministers. Its text was published, several years ago, by Buddhīsāgarasūri in the Bṛhad Vijāpura-vṛttānta (Guj.), intro., pp. 2-8. The Baroda Archaeological Report, 1938-39 (p. 3), has taken a notice of the inscription.

2 For a critical survey and literary appreciation of those inscriptions of Vastupāla which deserve the place of independent Kāvya, vide chapter VIII.

CHAPTER III

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF VASTUPĀLA

Ancestors of Vastupāla

44. In order to assess properly Vastupāla's role as a great patron of literature and art, it is necessary to narrate in brief his personal and political history. There is no dearth of material on the subject, though sometimes we get conflicting and confusing statements. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were born in an aristocratic Prāgvāṭa family of Aṇahilvād Pāṭaṇ. We get authentic information about their ancestry. The chronicles begin the genealogy of Vastupāla from a man named Caṇḍapa.¹ According to Vastupāla himself and his friend Someśvara, Caṇḍapa was a minister.² Most probably, he was a minister of a Caulukya king at Aṇahilvād. His son was Caṇḍaprasāda, whose hand was never without the ministerial seal.³ He had two sons—Soma and Sūra. Soma was keeper of jewels in the court of Sidhharāja Jayasimha.⁴ His wife was Sītā,⁵ and she bore him a son named Aśvarāja or Aśārāja, who also held some ministerial position.⁶ Aśvarāja had married Kumāradevī, daughter of a Prāgvāṭa Vaṇik named Ābhu, who was a Daṇḍapati.⁷ Aśvarāja and Kumāradevī were parents of Vastupāla.

Vastupāla-son of a remarried widow

45. A tradition has come down to this day, according to which Kumāradevī was a widow remarried to Aśvarāja. Merutuṅga⁸ has noted this tradition for the first time, and three old Gujarātī poems called Vastupāla Rāsa by Lakṣmīśāgara, Pāśvacandra⁹ and Meruvijaya¹⁰ have confirmed it. C. D. Dalal¹¹ and M. D. Desai¹² have, however, refused to accept the tradition as authentic on the ground that none of the contemporary works has mentioned it. Here is an interesting problem of historical method. Generally speaking, contemporary accounts are to be regarded as more trustworthy than writings of later date. But there may be certain matters about a person on which the contemporaries would prefer to remain silent, especially on matters which are not quite complimentary either to the person concerned or to his family, and therefore such matters would not be mentioned by those who are more concerned with praising him rather than presenting a critical account of his life. This may be the reason why the remarriage of Kumāradevī, the mother

1-2 NN, XVI. 3; KK, III. 4.

3 KK, III. 9.

4 Ibid, III. 14.

5 Ibid, III. 16.

6 Ibid, III. 17 and 22.

7 Ibid, III. 22; NN, XVI. 25; vide VC, ch. I.

8 PC, p. 98.

9 JSS, Vol. III, pp. 112 ff.

10 Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa, pp. 12 ff.

11 VV, intro., p. 13.

12 JSI, pp. 351 f.

of Vastupāla, may not have been mentioned by the contemporaries; later writers, however, would not feel the same scruples or hesitancy which the contemporaries felt. And hence we cannot reject this tradition merely on the ground that it was not mentioned by contemporary authors. Merutuṅga who wrote his work only about six decades after the death of Vastupāla and one of whose aims is to eulogize the great men of Jaina religion, would not mention it but for its authenticity. Later Rāsas which have narrated the account of Kumāradevī's remarriage have not copied Merutuṅga, but they seem to have followed entirely independent sources, which shows that there must have been other evidence for the fact.¹ The *Vīravamśāvalī*, an old Gujarātī genealogy of Jaina teachers, supports the tradition in a slightly different manner.² If it was not a fact that Vastupāla was the son of a remarried widow, the tradition would not have found such a wide currency after his death.

Brothers and sisters of Vastupāla

46. Kumāradevī and Aśvarāja had eleven issues in all—seven daughters named Jālu, Māu, Sāu, Dhanadevī, Sohagā, Vaiju and Padmaladevī,³ and four sons named Luṇiga, Malladeva, Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Out of these four brothers Luṇiga died at an early age, and Malladeva expired in youth after becoming father of a son, Pūrṇasiṃha. Even though we have plenty of information about Vastupāla, we have no means of finding out the date of his birth. The earliest date that we find recorded is V. S. 1249 (1193 A. D.),⁴ given in an inscription without date, but epigraphically not later than Vastupāla's period, preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. According to the inscription, Vastupāla and his younger brother Tejapāla had made the pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya with their father in that year. It may be assumed that this was in their childhood. Vastupāla had two wives—Lalitā and Sokhu or Vayajalladevī, and Tejapāla was married to Anupamā, who is famous as a wise counsellor of both the brothers, and to the less known Suhavadevī.

Beginning of political career

47. Very little is known about the early life of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. In early childhood they were living with their father in a town called Sumhālakapura which was given to him as a reward for services to the Caulukya king.⁵ After the death of Aśvarāja, the two brothers with their mother went

1 Strangely enough, both the Rāsas by Lakṣmīsāgara and Pārśvacandra have sought the precedent for widow-remarriage in the fact that Ādinātha, the first Tirthankara had married a widow, and hence they say that others also could follow the ancient custom (JSS, Vol. III, pp. 113 and 118).

2 This work adds that the division in Vṛdhhaśākhā and Laghuśākhā (mod. Vīsā and Daśā) of the Vapik community of Gujarāt—especially among the Prāgvāṭas—began with this incident, which was against the prevalent custom. Those who were with Vastupāla became Laghuśākhīya, i. e. inferior. Vide JSS, Vol. III, pp. 36-37 of the text.

3 PJLS, no. 64, and also nos. 94-97 and 103. Also VC, ch. I.

4 VV, intro., p. 11.

5 VC, ch. I.

to Maṇḍali¹ (modern Māṇḍala near Viramgām) when we have no means of ascertaining, lived there until the death of their mother, after which they seem to have begun their political career. While returning from a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya they came to Dhavalakka. The Kirtikaumudī, the Vasantavilāsa, the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, and the Prabandhakosa mention that the two brothers had gone to Dhavalakka and Viradhavala had made their appointment, after they were introduced to him by Someśvara. The Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana (canto IV), the Vastupāla-Tejapālāpraśasti of Jayasimhasūri (verse 51), and the Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī of Udayaprabha (verses 118-19), on the other hand, inform us that they were already in the service of Bhīmadeva II of Aṇahilavāḍ, and that he had given them to Viradhavala at his request. Vastupāla's own statement at the end of the Naranārāyaṇānanda, however, removes all doubts and makes it quite clear that he was first under Bhīmadeva,² and his services were lent to the court of Dhavalakka only afterwards. We do not know when Vastupāla joined the service of Bhīma, but it is certain that he and his brother were appointed at Dhavalakka in 1220 A. D. (V. S. 1276).³ It was after this that their great career began, which made its mark in almost all the fields of life.

Economic and political consolidation of the Gujarāt kingdom

48. While Bhīmadeva II was struggling hard to maintain his central authority, the Vāghelās who formed a branch of the Caulukyas sprung from Ānāka or Ārṇorāja, the son of the sister of Kumārāpāla's mother, were becoming stronger roundabout Dhavalakka, which was their capital. In return for services to Kumārāpāla, Ānāka had received the village of Vyāghrapalli or Vāghela; about 10 miles south-west of Aṇahilavāḍ. And hence the name Vāghelās given to his discendents.⁴ Ānāka survived Kumārāpāla, and served also under Bhīmadeva II, and strove until death to re-establish the glory of the Caulukya kingdom. Ānāka's son was Lavaṇaprasāda, and his son was Viradhavala. It seems probable from the account given in the sources that for a time these father and son—Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala were ruling at Dhavalakka. Bhīmadeva II, who is known in history as Bholo or simpleton, was a weak sovereign, and he was unable to protect his kingdom from the depredation of his feudatories as well as the foreign enemies, and there was a time when a chieftain named Jayantasimha could usurp the throne of Aṇahilavāḍ for some time, about 1224 A. D. (V. S. 1280), and issue the grants in his own name.⁵ Naturally, Bhīma must have been compelled to abandon

1 Ibid. Also PK, p. 103.

2 माखत्प्रभावमधुराय निरन्तरायधर्मोत्सवव्यतिकराय निरन्तराय ।
यो गुर्जरावनिमहीपतिभीमभूपमन्त्रीन्द्रतापरवशत्वमपि प्रपेदे ॥ (NN, XVI. 35)

3 This fact has been noted in all the Gīrnār inscriptions of Vastupāla.

4 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 198.

5 Bühler, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 187 ff. Also cf. following quotations—

सततविततदानक्षीणानिःशेषलक्ष्मीः रितसितरुचिकीर्तिभीमभूमिभुजङ्गः ।

बलकवलितभूमिमण्डलो मण्डलेशैश्विरमुपचितचिन्ताक्रान्तचित्तान्तरोऽभूत् ॥ (SS, II. 51)

मन्त्रिमिर्माणलिकैश्च बलवद्भिः शनैः शनैः । बालस्य भूमिपालस्य तस्य राज्यं व्यभज्यत ॥

(KK, II. 61)

his throne and take refuge somewhere. To regain the lost splendour of his kingdom, Bhīma had made Lavaṇaprasāda his Sarveśvara or vice-regent, and it is to his credit and that of his son Viradhavala that though they became all-powerful in the kingdom and became successful for the time being to re-establish the the glory of Aṇahilavād, they themselves did not think of usurping the throne of Aṇahilavād, and remained Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras and Rāṇakas upto the end of their life, though they could have easily become in turn the Mahārājādhirājas.¹ Leading supporters of both Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala were their ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla, who by their valour and statesmanship spread the power of the Vāghelās in the entire region between the rivers Sābarmatī and Narmadā, and having established peace and order in the whole of Gujarāt made the country secure from disruptive forces.

49. It appears from the Prabandhas that after his appointment Vastupāla was placed as the governor of Stambhatīrtha or Cambay, and Tejapāla was in charge of the ministerial seal.² Vastupāla redressed many of the wrongs committed by previous governors. During his administration there was a marked improvement in the moral tone of the people, a check was placed on unscrupulous people making money by base means, and all people carried on their business honestly in security. He put an end to piracy (KK, IV. 16). He checked corruption with a strong hand and overhauled the whole administration. He took a fine of 2100 drammas from an old corrupt official.³ There were great arrears in state-revenue; he employed the four means mentioned in the Nitiśāstra to reclaim the arrears and made the state-treasury full.⁴ He checked accounts of several high officers in Stambhatīrtha, who were reluctant to make a suitable report, and punished them.⁵ He also punished several unjust headmen of the villages roundabout Stambhatīrtha and erected temples with money recovered from them.⁶ Thus he put an end to the Mātsya Nyāya prevailing in the state (VC, IV. 40), and curbed the laxity of officials, both high and low, with commendable sternness. It is quite possible that the war-like deeds of Vastupāla and his brother were mostly undertaken with a view to ending the law of jungle and restoring confidence among the people, as well as with the aim of filling the coffers of the state which had become quite empty during the weak rule of Bhīmadeva. The Vastupālacarita states that in punishing Sadik or Said, a wealthy Muslim merchant of Stambhatīrtha (see para 59), Vastupāla's aim was to show that now there was no place for

1 It was destined for Viśaladeva (1238-1261 A. D.), son of Viradhavala, to become the Mahārājādhirāja. After ruling at Dhavalakka as the Maṇḍaleśvara for 9 years he came to the throne of Pāṭaṇ either by killing the last Caulukya monarch Tribhuvanapāla or because Tribhuvanapāla left no heir (Shastri, GMRI, Vol. II, p. 399).

2 PK, p. 102.

3 VC, ch. II; PK, p. 103.

4 VC, Ch. II.

5 Ibid, ch. IV.

6 Ibid.

the Mātsya Nyāya.¹ In short, the first work of Vastupāla after coming to power was to secure the economic as well as political consolidation of the Gujarāt kingdom.

Victory over Śaṁkha

50. When Vastupāla had succeeded in restoring peace in the region roundabout Dhavalakka and Stambhatīrtha, Śaṁkha, the ruler of Lāṭa, made an attack on him, claiming that the port of Stambhatīrtha was a possession of the king of Lāṭa. After a fierce fight, at a place called Vaṭakūpa (or Vaḍavā) near Stambhatīrtha, Śaṁkha found Vastupāla to be more than a match for him and made a hasty retreat. To commemorate this victory the citizens of Stambhatīrtha celebrated a festival in the shrine of the goddess Ekallavīrā, which was outside the town, and the minister went there to pay his homage to the deity.² This incident must have occurred before 1223 A. D. (V. S. 1279), because in that year Vastupāla entrusted the governorship of Stambhatīrtha to his son Jayantasīṁha or Jaitrasīṁha³ after overhauling the administration of that city, which was the principal port of Northern India and hence a place of great importance from the economic and commercial point of view.

Treaty with the Yādava king of Devagiri

51. Another time of peril was the joint attack of Yādava Śīṁhaṇa or Śīṁghaṇa of Davagiri from the south and four Mārvāḍī rulers from the north. Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala went to meet the enemy, but with the powerful invader in front and a combination of four hostile kings in the rear the position was indeed critical. But Lavaṇaprasāda and his son did not lose courage and fought valiantly. In the end there was a truce with the four chiefs from Mārvāḍ,⁴ as well as with the Yādava king from Devagiri.⁵ Text of the treaty with Śīṁhaṇa preserved in the Lekhapadhhati, a work giving different documentary forms, mentions the date as 1232 A. D. (V. S. 1288); if we take it as correct and we may, as there is no evidence to the contrary it may be said that the fight with Śīṁhaṇa must have ended in that year.

Other warlike deeds of Viradhavala and his ministers

52. The Prabandhas describe several other warlike deeds of Viradhavala and his two ministers. First of all, they conquered the rulers of Vāmanasthali (modern Vanthali near Junāgaḍh), Sāṁgana and Cāmuṇḍa, who were the brothers of Viradhavala's queen Jayataladevī, who declined to pay homage to Viradhavala in spite of repeated entreaties from their sister. They were slain in a combat and the great riches of the palace of Vāmanasthali came into the hands of Viradhavala.⁶ Viradhavala led another attack against

1 Ibid.

2 KK, ch. IV-V; VV, ch. V; also vide PK, pp. 108-109; PC, p. 102.

3 PJLS, no. 40-3.

4 KK, VI, 67.

5 Lekhapadhhati, p. 52; also vide BG, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 199 f.

6 PK, pp. 103 f.; VC, ch. II.

Bhīmasimha of the Pratihāra clan ruling at Bhadreśvara in Cutch, but as Bhīmasimha was served by several powerful warriors who had come from Mārvād, Viradhavala could not conquer him, but had to return after making a peace-treaty.¹ By this treaty a new friend was made and the Cutch border became free from danger. After this, Viradhavala thought of subduing Ghūghula, a chief ruling at Godraha (modern Godhrā) in the Mahītaṭa region or the banks of the river Mahī. Ghūghula had made an alliance with the Mārvād kings when the latter attacked Gujarāt, and was plundering the merchants, pilgrims and caravans coming to and going from Gujarāt. Tejapāla was sent with a strong force. He captured Ghūghula and put him in a wooden cage and appointed one of his lieutenants as a governor of Godraha. Ghūghula, unable to bear this insult, committed suicide by biting his tongue.² As a result of this victory power of the Vāghelās extended upto the eastern border of Gujarāt, and the trade-route to Mālvā was again made secure.

How a Muslim attack was repulsed

53. There is ample historical evidence to show that during the rule of Viradhavala, there was a Muslim attack on Gujarāt, and that it was successfully repulsed by the strategy of Vastupāla. Jayasimhasūri has dramatized this event in his Sanskrit play Hammīramadāmadana. The Prabandhakośa describes how Sultān Mojīn of Delhi had invaded Gujarāt, and how he was encircled by Dhārāvāṣa of Candrāvātī from the north and Vastupāla from the south after his army had entered a mountain pass near Ābu.³ Consequently the Sultān had to retreat.⁴ After some time the Sultān's mother (according to the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, his teacher) was going on a pilgrimage to the holy Mecca, and had come to a port of Gujarāt, most probably Stambhatīrtha, to take a boat. Vastupāla ordered his men to take possession of the old woman's property. The captain of the ship came and complained before Vastupāla that the pirates had robbed the old woman. Vastupāla caught the pirates who were really sent by him, and returned the old woman's property after receiving her with great respect, and also provided for her comfort and safety. While returning from Mecca, she took Vastupāla with her to Delhi, and introduced him to the Sultān. Vastupāla obtained a promise from the Sultān to keep friendship with Viradhavala, and

1 PK, pp. 104 ff.; VC, ch. II.

2 PK, pp. 107 f.; VC, ch. III.

3 PK, p. 117.

4 There is some controversy about the identification of Mojīn or Muizuddin, as no Sultān bearing that name sat on the throne of Delhi. The BG (Vol. I, pt. I, p. 201) considers Mojīn to be Muhammad Ghori. Prof. R. C. Parikh has identified him with Shāhabuddin Ghori (JSS, Vol. III, pp. 153 ff.). Pandit G. H. Oza (Rājputāne kā Itihās, Vol. I, pp. 467 f.), Mr. D. K. Shastri (GMRI, Vol. II, pp. 380 f.) and myself ('Gujarātī,' Divālī number, A. D. 1934, pp. 18 f.) have identified him with Sultān Altamash (1210-1235 A. D.) of Delhi, and that seems to be the most natural identification on chronological grounds.

thus made his kingdom safe. Coming back from Delhi Vastupāla was received by Viradhavala with great honour.¹ As the play *Hamīramadamardana*, depicting the victory of Vastupāla over the Muslim ruler was copied down in 1230 A. D. (1286 V. S.),² this event must have occurred between 1220 and 1230 A. D. (1276 and 1286 V. S.), the date of commencement of Vastupāla's ministry and the date of the manuscript of the play preserved in the Jesalmer Bhāṇḍār, respectively.

Death of Viradhavala and Vastupāla

54. King Viradhavala died in 1238 A. D.³ His popularity has created a tradition that a large number of people burnt themselves on his funeral pyre; and Tejapāla had to come to the cremation ground with army to check others from doing so.⁴ Viradhavala had two sons—Pratāpamalla and Visaladeva. Pratāpamalla had died during the life-time of Viradhavala, leaving a son, Arjunadeva, after him. Visaladeva, the younger son of Viradhavala, came to throne in 1238 A. D.⁵ Vistupāla died in 1240 A. D. (1296 V. S.), only two years after Visaladeva's coming to throne. Both the *Prabandhakosa*⁶ and the *Vastupālacarita*⁷ have given 1242 A. D. (1298 V. S.) as the date of Vastupāla's death, and it was generally believed to be correct. But the *Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya* of the contemporary Bālacandra has the date of his death as Sunday the fifth day of the bright half of the month Māgha in the year 1296 V. S. (1st January, 1240 A. D.).⁸ This

1 PK, pp. 119 f.; PC, p. 103.

2 HMM, intro., p. 1; JBC, p. 23.

3 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 203. Also vide the *Rājāvali Koṣṭhaka* in the appendix to the *Śatruñjayatīrthodhārāprabandha*. Bühler has given the date as 1295 V. S. (IA, Vol. VI, p. 213). It may be noted here that we do not know anything about the death of Lavaṇaprasād. The BG (Vol. I, pt. I, p. 200) has assumed that Lavaṇaprasāda abdicated in favour of Viradhavala in the year 1232 A. D., after the conclusion of the treaty with Simhaṇa of Devagiri. Others think that perhaps he might have died by that year (GMRI, Vol. II, p. 389). The *Rājāvalikoṣṭhaka* begins the rule of Viradhavala from 1282 V. S. (1226 A. D.). On the whole, it seems plausible that Lavaṇaprasāda died between 1232 and 1238 A. D.

4 PC, p. 105.

5 The *Prabandhas* give an account of Vīrama, Viradhavala's son, and his attempt to capture the throne (PK, pp. 124 f.). It is said that his attempt failed and Visaladeva could come to the throne only because of Vastupāla's help. But it is proved now that Viradhavala had no son called Vīrama, and hence the story given in the *Prabandha* is not to be relied upon (GMRI, Vol. II, pp. 390 ff.).

6 PK, pp. 127 f.

7 VC, ch. VIII.

8 वर्षे हर्षनिषण्णवतिके श्रीविक्रमोर्वीभूतः कालाद् द्वादशसंख्यहायनशतात् मासेऽत्र माघाह्वये ।
पञ्चम्यां च त्रिथौ दिनादिसमये वारे च अनोस्तबोद्धोर्द्धं सद्गतिमस्ति लघ्नमसमं तत्त्वर्थतां त्वर्थताम् ॥
(VV, XIV. 37)

statement is also supported by the dates in a palm-leaf manuscript, which mentions that Vastupāla died in 1296 V. S. and Tejapāla in 1304 V. S. (1248 A. D.).¹ The Prabandhas say that Vastupāla expired in the village Amkevaliā (situated 10 miles south-east of Wadhvāṇ in Saurāṣṭra), while he was going on his last pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya.² The statement may be reliable, but we do not find it mentioned in the Vasantavilāsa.³ The Prabandhakośa (p. 125) and the Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 80) refer to the loss of Vastupāla's ministerial power in favour of the Nāgara minister Nāgaḍa. Elsewhere it is said that Vastupāla had incurred the anger of Viśaladeva, because of the punishment meted by the former to a maternal uncle of the king, as that man had insulted a Jaina Śādhu, but the minister was saved by the intervention of Someśvara.⁴ It is also mentioned that once Viśaladeva demanded from Vastupāla the accounts of the state-revenue, and finding that some of the money was spent after temples etc., decided to punish him, but here also the king was held back by Someśvara.⁵ Though we may not accept such stories in their entirety, they can be considered as indicative of the fact that the minister had incurred the displeasure of the new king, in his later life. There is nothing inherently impossible in this, as we know several such instances in history, when a new king finds it difficult to pull on with the old minister. But here, there is no evidence to show that Vastupāla was actually displaced by Viśaladeva, though he was no more on very good terms with the young sovereign. It is not unlikely that this may have been due to the machinations of Nāgara politicians led by Nāgaḍa or because Viśaladeva might have felt the old minister rather too overbearing to be tolerated.

Death of Tejapāla

55. There is a very trustworthy evidence to show that Tejapāla, the younger brother, continued as the Mahāmātya or prime minister for a few years after the death of Vastupāla, and that the king's displeasure was not so great as to displace him from the office. In an Ābu inscription of the third day of the bright half of month Vaiśākha of year 1296 V. S. (26th April, 1240 A. D.), Tejapāla is referred to as the Mahāmātya,⁶ which corroborates the above statement that Vastupāla died in the Māgha month of the year, and Tejapāla took the charge of his office. In the colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript of

1 Ibid, intro., p. 8.

2 PC, p. 105; PK, p. 128; VC, ch. VIII.

3 The VV, on the other hand, informs that Vastupāla ascended Mt. Śatruñjaya and married Sadgati (or felicity), daughter of Dharma, before Ādinātha. That is, in simple words, he expired on Śatruñjaya (VV, XIV. 49-52). We do not know if this is a mere allegory or an actual fact. It is probable that though Vastupāla died on the way to Śatruñjaya, Bālacandra may have described it otherwise to make the allegory of marriage before Ādinātha, poetically complete.

4 PK, pp. 126 f.; VC, ch. VIII.

5 PK, p. 125.

6 PJS, no. 66.

1298 V. S. (1242 A. D.), Luṇasimha, the son of Mahāmātya Tejapāla, is mentioned as the governor of Bṛgukachha.¹ In a manuscript of the Ācārāṅga Sūtra of V. S. 1303 (1247 A. D.), Tejapāla is called a Mahāmātya in power at Anahillapura.² We get the first colophon mentioning Nāgaḍa as the Mahāmātya in 1310 V. S. (1254 A. D.),³ which shows that Tejapāla died between 1247 and 1254 A. D. According to the Vastupālacarita, Tejapāla died ten years after Vastupāla, and the Prabandhakośa gives 1308 V. S. (1252 A. D.) as the year of his death. Thus the year 1306 V. S. (Vastupāla's death in 1296 + 10 years = 1306 V. S. = 1250 A. D.), 1308 V. S. (= 1252 A. D.) or 1304 V. S. (= 1248 A. D., as given in an old palm-leaf manuscript; vide para 54) may be taken as the year of Tejapāla's death. Unfortunately, we have no trustworthy evidence, as in the case of Vastupāla, to choose one of these three dates as historically final. In any case, it can be definitely said that Nāgara Brāhmin Nāgaḍa became the Mahāmātya of Viśaladeva only after Tejapāla's demise.

1 PBC, p. 60.

2 Peterson, First Report, Appendix I, p. 41.

3 JBC, pp. 37 f.

CHAPTER IV

VASTUPĀLA—A GREAT PATRON OF LITERATURE AND ART AND A MAN OF LETTERS

56. As can be seen from chapter III, Vastupāla and Tejpāla wielded a great influence at the courts of Dhavalakka and Anahilavāḍ, and they consolidated the state of Gujarāt politically as well as economically. But they are more remembered for cultural activities inspired by their splendid munificence. They brought a cultural renaissance in Gujarāt, such as would remind one of the days of the great savant Hemacandra, and which vied with the cultural glories of Mālvā under kings Muṇja and Bhoja.

Pilgrimages of Vastupāla

57. According to the Prabandhas, Vastupāla had made thirteen pilgrimages to Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār. In childhood he went to both the places with his father Aśvarāja, who was a Saṁghapati or leader of the pilgrims' caravan. That was in the years 1193 and 1194 A. D. After becoming a minister he led the Saṁghas more than once, and undertook the pilgrimage of Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār in the years 1221, 1234, 1235, 1236 and 1237 A. D. He also went to Śatruñjaya only with his family in the years 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232 and 1233 A. D.¹ The last pilgrimage, which he desired to make, to Śatruñjaya, but could not complete owing to his death on the way, was begun in 1240 A. D., and has been described by Bālacandra in the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya. The pilgrimage which he did in 1221 A. D. was probably the most important one, as it is the only pilgrimage repeatedly mentioned in the Gīrnār inscriptions and presumably the same one is described with remarkable accuracy and poetic skill in contemporary works like the Kīrtikaumudī, the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana, the Dharmābhyudaya etc., with which we shall deal in chapter VI.

Public works of Vastupāla

58. Even if we look to the account given in the contemporary literary works, which may be safely relied upon, the monuments and public works like temples, rest houses, tanks, wells etc. erected and sunk by the ministers were very numerous.² Even if we consider only the contemporary evidence, keeping aside the later Prabandhas, there is no doubt that their munificence and philanthropy extended to a large number of places in the whole of Gujarāt, Saurāṣṭra and Mārvāḍ. Jinaprabhasūri and Rājasekhara assert that their public works extended to Śrī Śaila in the south, Prabhāsa in the west, Kedāra in the north and Benares in the east.³ This does not seem improbable when we consider the fact that the scholars, poets and religious men from almost the whole of India were coming in those days to Anahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka, and were getting some patronage from Vastu-

1 VC, ch. VIII; PPS, p. 59; also vide JSI, pp. 308 f.

2 NN, XVI. 37; also vide SS, SKK, etc.

3 VTK, pp. 79 f.; PK, p. 130.

pāla and his brother. Public works of Vastupāla were not limited only to the Jain religion which he professed. We are told that he also built hospitals, Brahmasālās, Maṭhas, Śiva temples, and even mosques.¹ There might be some exaggeration in the later accounts, because places on which Vastupāla spent wealth in public works are about 50 in a contemporary source like the Sukṛtasamkīrtana. That number we find greatly increased in the works of Rājasekhara, Jinaharṣa and Jinaprabha; and some of the details seem ridiculous, because they are evident exaggerations. But even if we look to plain facts given by contemporary authors, there is no doubt that Vastupāla was one of the greatest philanthropists that Gujarāt and perhaps India has ever produced.

59. Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent a large amount of wealth after their public works, and one would like to know where this wealth came from. We already know that the two brothers came from an aristocratic family, which was supplying statesmen to the state of Gujarāt, and hence they must be enjoying considerable affluence. The Prabandhas contain stories as to how they came to possess fabulous wealth. Though these read like some folk-tales, it is probable that they contain germs of truth: When Vastupāla was appointed as the governor of Stambhatīrtha, a Muslim merchant named Said or Sadik refused to accept his authority. When Vastupāla tried to punish him, Said called Śamkha, the prince of Laṭa to his aid. But Śamkha was defeated, Said captured and his property confiscated. When this was reported to the king, he ordered that all the valuables of Said should go to the state, but assigned the dust of his house to Vastupāla. Much of the dust was gold-dust and a fire turned more of Said's gold and silver to dust. Thus the bulk of Said's wealth passed to Vastupāla.² Another account states that while going on a pilgrimage to Jain holy places in Saurāṣṭra the two brothers went to bury their wealth amounting to a total value of about one lakh, near a village called Haḍālaka (modern Haḍālā near Dhandhukā). There, while digging the earth, they got more wealth. Vastupāla asked Anupamā, wife of Tejapāla, as to what should be done with this treasure. Anupamā replied that "It may be kept on the peaks of the mountains, so that it may not fall in the hands of some other person, as it has fallen to ours." And Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent it in building famous temples on Gīrnār and Ābu, and leading Saṅghas to the holy place of Śatruṅjaya.³

Ābu temple—a memorable specimen of mediaeval Indian architecture

60. Advice of Anupamā has proved to be true, and no public work of Vastupāla and Tejapāla has been preserved to this day, except the temples on Ābu and Gīrnār.⁴ The temple on Ābu was built by Tejapāla in 1231 A. D.

1 PK, pp. 129 f.; VC, ch. II, III & VI; VTK, pp. 79 f.

2 PPS, pp. 56 and 73.

3 PK, p. 101.

4 Three old marble-pillars with inscriptions have been preserved at Pāṭan. Two of them are used as pillars in the comparatively modern structure

(V. S. 1287), and it has Neminātha, the twenty-second Jaina Tirthamkara, as the chief diety. Temples on Gīrnār were built by Vastupāla in 1232 A. D. (1288 V. S.). The Ābu temple, situated in the temple-city of Delvādā, and generally known as Luṇa-vasati in memory of Vastupāla's elder brother Luṇiga,¹ is one of the finest works of mediaeval Indian art, and of sufficient excellence to immortalize the name of its builder in the history of art.² This temple as well as the Vimala-vasati, built by Vimalasāha, about two centuries before it, are wholly of white marble, though no quarries of that material, except of inferior quality, are known to exist within 20 or 30 miles of the spot; the transporting and carrying it up the hill to the side of these temples must have added immensely to the expense of the undertaking. Externally the temple is perfectly plain, and one is totally unprepared for the splendour of the interior. As Cousens remarks, "the amount of the beautiful ornamental detail, spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels, and niches is simply marvellous; the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty. The work is so delicate that ordinary chiselling would have been disastrous. It is said that much of it was produced by scraping the marble away, and that masons were paid by the amount of marble-dust remained." "The pendent which hangs from the centre of the dome of the temple of Tejapāla is particularly remarkable and rivets the attention of every visitor. Colonel Tod justly remarks, 'the delineation of it defies pen, and would tax to the utmost the pencil of the most patient artist;' and he is secure in asserting that no ornament of the most florid style of Gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. 'It appears like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought that it fixes the eye in admiration.' The sculpture of the temples does not, however, confine to the representation of inanimate objects; it exercises itself also upon the scenes of domestic life, the labours of navigation and commerce, and the struggles of battle-field; and it may be safely asserted that the student of antiquities, who should devote sufficient attention to these bas-reliefs, would be amply repaid by a large increase of knowledge regarding many interesting points in the manners and customs of mediaeval India."³ According to the Prabandhas, Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent eighteen crores and ninety-six lakhs on Śātrunjaya, twelve

of the temple of Kālikā Mātā. The third one lies in the local archaeological museum of Dr. Pandyā Abhyāsagha. It is evident from the inscriptions that the pillars are the remains of the palaces of Vastupāla and his family-members (These inscriptions have been published by me; vide FGST, Vol. IV, pp. 192 ff.).

- 1 PC, p. 101. But the inscriptions mention that it was built for the spiritual welfare of Tejapāla's wife Anupamā and son Luṇasimha.
- 2 For description of the temple see Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, pp. 36 ff.; Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, pp. 144 f. Also Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarāt*, pp. 108, 128.
- 3 Forbes, *Rāsmālā*, Vol. I, pp. 257 f.

crores and eighty lakhs on Gimār, and twelve crores and fiftythree lakhs after the erection of the Lunavasati on Ābu.¹ There might be exaggeration in these figures, but there is not the least doubt that a vast amount of wealth, and immense labour must have been spent after the building of these monuments, which bespeak extraordinary liberality and religious devotion on the part of their builders. The chronicles say that not only was there no forced labour, as was the case in the erection of some similar buildings elsewhere in India and outside, but ample wages were being given, and utmost care taken for the amenities of the artisans who worked there.²

Vastupāla - a great patron of learning and literature

61. Besides being a philanthropist and patron of art, Vastupāla was a great patron of learning. He had established three public libraries (Bhāṇḍārs) in Anahilavād, Stambhatīrtha, and Bṛgukaccha by spending great sums of money for them.³ His personal library was also very rich, and contained more than one copy of all important Śāstra-works.⁴ He was highly liberal towards poets and scholars, and it has been noted in his case that like Bhoja and Vikramāditya, he gave thousands to poets for the composition of one verse or even for a half. Long and detailed accounts of his enjoyment and patronage of poetry have been given in the works like the Prabandhakośa, the Vastupālacarita, the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha and the Upadeśataramgiṇī. Because of his liberality to the poets he was called Laghu Bhojarāja or junior Bhoja. So many poets, both known and anonymous, had profited by his liberality that Someśvara has expressed their gratitude in the following words—

सूत्रे वृत्तिः कृता पूर्वं दुर्गोत्तिहेन धीमता । विसृजे तु कृता तेषां वस्तुपालेन मन्त्रिणा ॥⁵

“Formerly learned Durgasimha had composed the Vṛtti (commentary) on the Sūtras (of the Kātantra grammar), but the minister Vastupāla has given Vṛtti (means of maintenance) to the poets without any Sūtra.”

While giving patronage to poets and making donations in the cause of learning Vastupāla made no distinction between a jaina and a non-jaina. He donated ten thousand drammās to the Śaiva Tīrth of Prabhāsa,⁶ and gave

1 PK, p. 129.

2 Ibid, pp. 122 f.

3 Ibid, p. 129; PPS, p. 65; VTK, p. 80. Institution of Jaina public library or Jīāna-Bhāṇḍār seems to be very old in Gujārāt. When Devardhhi got the Jaina scriptures copied down, they must have been put in some Bhāṇḍār (para 7). It is said that Kumārāpāla had established 21 Bhāṇḍārs (Kumārāpāla Prabandha, pp. 96 f.). Manuscripts of these Bhāṇḍārs have not been preserved for us. Possibly they were destroyed by the Muslims. There is a palm-leaf manuscript of the Jītakalpa-Cūrpi-Vyākhyā in the Pāṭaṇ Bhāṇḍār dated 1284 V. S. = 1228 A. D. (PBC, p. 400); it has in its colophon some verses in praise of Vastupāla. Probably it is a rare remain of one of the Bhāṇḍārs of Vastupāla (vide para 220).

4 VC, ch. VII. 113.

5 PK, p. 112; VC, IV. 443.

6 UT, p. 77.

great wealth to the Brāhmins having poetic skill. Such occasions were not rare, but on the contrary, very numerous. And the Kīrtikaumudī says about him—

नानर्च भक्तिमान्नेमौ नेमौ शंकरकेशवौ । जैनोऽपि यः सवेदानां दानाम्भः कुरुते करे ॥¹

His tolerance of other faiths had become so proverbial that the Purātana-prabandhasaṃgraha has the following verse about him—

दौर्द्धैर्बौद्धो वैष्णवैर्विष्णुभक्तः शैवैः शैवो योगिभिर्योगरत्नः ।

जैनैस्तावज्जैन एवेति कृत्वा सत्त्वाधारः स्तूयते वस्तुपालः ॥²

62. Moreover, Vastupāla was credited with a critical faculty which enabled him to detect defects in poetic compositions by others, and to make improvements in them. He has been referred to as “the best among the appreciators of poetry and art” (Sahṛdayacūḍamaṇi).³ Not only did he appreciate poetry and art, but also requested others to write religious and literary works for his instruction and delectation. The Kathāratnākara of Naracandrasūri and the Alankāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri were composed at his request (vide para 119-121). Greater part of his leisure-hours was spent in the company of literary men.⁴ He himself has said in the Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya (XVI, 36) that he could devote his time to the company of poets and scholars, because his younger brother Tejapāla looked properly after the state-affairs. In spite of the high position which he enjoyed his modesty was proverbial, and amidst the manifold engagements of state-affairs he found time to make a copy in his own hand of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya of Udāyaprabha, a pupil of his preceptor Vijayasenasūri. This manuscript, dated 1290 V. S. (1234 A. D.), has been preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Cambay, and we are fortunate in having the handwriting of such a great personality even after the lapse of more than seven centuries (cf. colophon of the manuscript—सं. १२९० वर्षे चैत्र शुद्ध १२ रवौ स्तंभतीर्थवेलाकूलमनुपालयता महं श्रीवस्तुपालेन श्रीवर्माभ्युदयमहाकाव्यपुस्तकमिदमलेखि ॥). There was hardly a notable scholar, Jaina or non-Jaina, in Gujarāt of those days who had not come in contact with Vastupāla in one way or the other. And there is no wonder that we find a large number of works written directly under his patronage or indirectly under the stimulus of his magnetic personality.

Literary works of Vastupāla

63. It has happened many times in history that patrons of poets were themselves poets. We have many instances of royal poets in Indian literature. The name of Vastupāla also can be counted among such persons. Just as he is praised as a patron of poets in the works which are the sources of much of our information regarding him, he is highly eulogized as a poet too. He is called ‘Sarasvatī with a beard’ (Kūrcālasarasvatī)⁵

1 KK, IV, 40.

2 PPS, p. 68.

3 सत्त्विकाव्यशरीरे दुष्यदगददोषमोषणैकमिषक् । श्रीवस्तुपालसन्निवः सद्दयचूडामणिर्जयति ॥
(UR, II)

4 KK, VI.

5 PPS, p. 55.

and Kavikuñjara and Kavicakravartin, and praised as a spiritual son of Sarasvatī.¹ The Prabandhacintāmaṇi (p. 100) and other works call him "ornament of Sarasvatī's neck" (Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa). We are also informed that he had studied from Naracandra the three vidyās, i. e. the Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya, and also works on Jaina philosophy (para 118). His poetic name was Vasantapāla, which was given to him by Harihara, Someśvara and other poets.² This is the reason why Bālacandra has given the name Vasantavilāsa to his poem giving an account of Vastupāla's life. At the end of the Naranārāyaṇānanda, Vastupāla says that his first poem was the result of an inspired outburst in the form of a hymn in the praise of Ādiśvara on the Śatruñjaya hills.³ This hymn is none other than his Ādināth Stotra. Vastupāla has also written several Stotras like the Neminātha Stotra, Ambikā Stotra, and a short Ārādhana of ten verses. The Ārādhana is probably the last composition of Vastupāla, because its first verse (न क्वं सुकृतं किञ्चित्) has been quoted by the PC (v. 234), PK (v. 337) and PPS (v. 202) as spoken by the minister while on death-bed. The PC (p. 105) says that the minister did his Paryantārādhana or the last devotional act by uttering this verse when nearing death in the course of his journey to Śatruñjaya; and it seems that he had composed the Ārādhana during his last pilgrimage, while his health was failing.

64. We also gather from the literary sources that Vastupāla was proficient in composition of Sūktis. Someśvara, in one place, writes as follows about this particular faculty of his patron—

अम्भोजसम्भवसुता वक्त्राम्भोजेस्ति वस्तुपालस्य । यद्दीणारणितानि श्रयन्ते सुक्तिदम्भेन ॥⁴

And Udayaprabha, in the first verse of his Vastupālastuti has praised the Sūktis of Vastupāla in a simple but poetic stanza—

पीयूषादपि पेशला शशधरज्योत्स्नाकलापादपि स्वच्छा नूतनचूतमञ्जरिभरादप्युल्लसत्सौरभाः ।
वाग्देवीमुखसामसूक्तविशदोद्गारादपि प्राञ्जलाः केपां न प्रथयन्ति चेतसि मुदं श्रीवस्तुपालोक्तयः ॥⁵

1 In the Gīrnār inscriptions he is described as धर्मेयुतुः सरस्वत्याः and शारदाप्रतिपन्नापत्यः. Also vide KK, I. 29—

वस्तुपालयशोवीरौ सत्यं वाग्देवतासुतौ । एको दानस्वभावोऽभूदुभयोरन्यथा कथम् ॥
Vastupāla has used this epithet for himself in NN, XVI. 40. For laudatory titles (Birudas) of Vastupāla, vide VC, VI. 133-34; also the Vastupāla Rāsa of Hīrānanda.

2 NN, XVI. 38. Just as Vasantapāla is a poetic form of the name Vastupāla, it is not improbable that the form Vastupāla itself may be a Sanskritization of a name which may have perhaps a rustic touch. I am led to this inference because of the fact that the old Gujarātī Rāsas sometimes refer to Vastupāla and Tejapāla as Vastiga and Tejiga. It is significant that even to-day Vasto is a common name in the Baniā community of North Gujarāt and Mārvād.

3 Ibid, XVI. 39.

4 UR, VIII.

5 This verse occurs in PK (p. 116) and UT (p. 78). It is also quoted at the end of canto X of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya of Udayaprabha.

Vastupāla has been quoted in anthologies, which shows that his poetic fame had spread far and wide outside the borders of Gujarāt. His four verses are found in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jahlāja, keeper of elephants of king Kṛṣṇa (1247-1260 A. D.) of Devagiri.¹ Constant warfare was going on between Devagiri and Gujarāt, but as a result of that strife cultural contact got some impetus during the intervals of peace, and there must have been a good deal of give and take on both the sides. In the *Śāringadharapadhhati* of Śāringadhara (1363 A. D.) of Śākambharī, a verse of Vastupāla has found place.² In the *Prabandha* a large number of verses have been put in the mouth of Vastupāla,³ as spoken by him on particular occasions, and it is certain that most of them are his own composition, in view of his skill in this particular branch of poetry. It can be imagined that he could compose Sanskrit Sūktis on the spur of the moment on suitable occasions. In the *Ābu Praśasti*, Someśvara has spoken highly of his originality in the field of poetry and his strict administration in the domain of state-craft.⁴ Verses spoken by him before his death, while he was on the way to Śatruñjaya, express a deep-seated religious fervour and a humility, which only the great souls can show (PC, p. 105; VC, VIII. 571-74).

65. As remarked earlier, Vastupāla has composed the *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, a *Mahākāvya* in 16 cantos, describing the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the Raivataka garden, and the consequent carrying away by Arjuna of Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā. At the end of the poem (XVI. 33), he has mentioned his numerous *Samghayātrās*, and we know from other sources that his first great pilgrimage was undertaken in 1221 A. D.; hence the poem must have been composed after that year. Praising Vastupāla, who did such remarkable work in various fields of life and literature, Narendraprabhasūri has given the following verse, which summarizes succinctly his manifold achievements—

लागाः कुड्मलयन्ति कल्पवितपित्यागक्रियापाटवं कामं काव्यकलापि कोमलयति द्वैपायनीयं वचः ।

बुद्धिर्बिभ्रुते च यस्य धिवर्णा चाणक्यचिन्तामणेः सोऽयं कस्य न वस्तुपालसन्निवोत्तसः प्रशंसास्वदम् ॥⁵

66. It appears rather unusual to the modern reader that a man should be simultaneously a great statesman and administrator and also a literary figure. Such people are known to patronize learning, but one feels some doubt when they are also credited with authorship of literary works. And such doubts are not altogether groundless, because it is believed by some scholars in the case of such famous kings as Bhoja and others that they are credited with the

1 (I) अध्वानं यदि० (II) यत्रोन्मुखं० (III) संप्रति न० (IV) साम्यं निश्चिन्नतता०. The first verse has been traced to NN, I. 6.

2 संप्रति न० (no. 66), which is also common to SM.

3 PPS, p. 64; PK, pp. 114, 116, 123, 124, 125, 128; PC, p. 105; VC, VI. 507, 508, 552, 609, 610, etc. In case of several verses the PC has made following significant remark—इत्यादीनि श्रीवस्तुपालमहाकवेः स्वयंकृतान्यमूनि (p. 105).

4 निरचयति वस्तुपालश्चतुर्व्यसन्निवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचिदर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥
'PJLS, no. 64)

5 AM, p. 2.

authorship of literary compositions coming from the pen of their proteges. Is such a doubt, then, not justified about Vastupāla's authorship of literary works attributed to him? Doubts in such cases cannot be completely resolved, as it is a matter of interpreting evidence. But one thing is, however, certain that there is nothing inherently incompatible in a statesman and administrator being also a literary writer. The case of Disraeli is well-known. But we need not go to foreign countries for examples. The literary history of Gujarāt as well as that of other parts of India supplies us with many such cases. Some of them may be mentioned here. Viśākhadatta, the famous author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (5th century A. D.), was the son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta and grandson of Sāmanta Vateśvaradatta, and belonged to a family of the ruling class under the Imperial Guptas. Vatsarāja, the author of six *Rūpakas* (the *Karpūracarita Bhāṇa* etc. published in the Gaekawad's Oriental Series under the title *Rūpakaṣaṭkam*), was a minister of Paramardideva, and his son Trailokyavarmadeva of Kālanjara, who flourished in the 13th century. Śricandrasūri, the author of the Prākṛit work *Munisuvratacarita* (1137 A. D.), was a minister of Lāṭadeśa before he joined the ascetic order; and this fact has been mentioned by his brother Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇi, the celebrated author of the *Supāsanāhacariya* (1143 A. D.) at the end of his work. The names of the great Vedic commentator Śaṅkara and his brother Mādhava (14th century), who were ministers at the court of Vijayanagar, are well-known. They were great scholars as well as patrons of learning and their work is too well-known to require any introduction. It was a tradition in ancient and mediaeval India that the persons of eminent positions were also the cultural leaders of their times, and it was their highest ambition after doing their life's work to die in religious meditation, having renounced the worldly ties, just as our Vastupāla had tried to do. So, as pointed out earlier, on grounds of supposed incompatibility we are not justified in having doubts about Vastupāla's authorship of the works attributed to him, unless, as in other cases, there is some positive evidence, circumstantial or direct, which justifies us in raising such doubts.¹

1 While taking into consideration the cultural traditions of Gurjaradeśa, one has to think of several other historical facts also, which are characteristic of the province. We have already seen that in addition to the Brāhmins, who were wedded to learning by their birth and profession, there was a cultured section of the Prāgvāta and Śrīmālī communities in Gujarāt which had inherited the literary traditions of Śrīmālā; and thus it can be said that Vastupāla, who combined in himself the arts of statesmanship and government as well as the art of literature was only continuing the tradition of his own community. Both these communities—Prāgvātas and Śrīmālīs have produced not only merchants, but great administrators, generals, builders of monuments, scholars as well as poets. To take only a few examples—Śrīpāla, his son Sidhhapāla and grandson Vijayapāla (vide para 28-29) were Prāgvātas. Durlabharāja, the poet-minister of Kumārāpāla, who began *Sāmudrikatilaka*, a work on astrology, in 1160 A. D., was a Prāgvāta (JSI, pp. 277 f.). The rhetorician Vāgbhaṭa (para 30), and As-

CHAPTER V

LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

67. After making a study of the life and works of Vastupāla we now come to the known figures of his literary circle. From the available biographical data about these persons we shall see how they came in contact with Vastupāla and how they entertained him with their poetic compositions, and in what way the patron appreciated their work. We shall also see how some of them composed poems to express their admiration for him, and also how some works were written on particular subjects in response to requests from the patron. We shall find, moreover, how those poets and scholars were having contact among themselves, and how they appreciated, helped and sometimes rivalled each other. That these persons really formed a circle, and were not merely casual visitors, will be clearly seen. But here a question might naturally arise about the propriety of describing these writers as forming the literary circle of Vastupāla, and not of the Royal court of the Vāghelās. There is no doubt that these poets and scholars came to the Vāghelā court, and sometimes received gifts from the king, as in the case of Harihara and Nānaka and Arisimha (para 81, 87, 96); but it is clear from the evidence, which will be presented here that these writers cared to bestow praise on the Vāghelā kings only rarely, which indicates that all of them were dependent upon Vastupāla, and it was mainly through him that their literary efforts flourished. And hence we are justified in calling these writers as the literary circle of Vastupāla. A study of the activity of this circle throws a flood of light on the cultural life of the times of Vastupāla and also it is very important for understanding the literary and scholastic traditions of mediaeval Gujarāt. We shall take these literary figures one by one.

āḍa, the commentator of the Meghadūta and author of two Prakaraṇas in Prākṛit, viz, the Upadeśakandali and Vivekamañjarī, were Śrīmālīs (Peterson, Report I, p. 56; Report III, pp. 12 and 100). Jagaddeva, who was given the Biruda or laudatory title of Lālakavi by Hemacandra, was the son of a minister and a Śrīmālī (Peterson, Report III, pp. 96 f.). Coming to comparatively later times, we may refer to Śrīmālī minister Maṇḍana (about 1450 A. D.) of Maṇḍu in Mālvā, who was a great patron of learning and himself a Sanskrit author of no poor merit (JSI, pp. 476 ff.). Several other Vaṇik communities of Gujarāt like Dharkāṭa, Moḍha and Vāyāḍā also have given their contribution to Sanskrit literature. To take only one instance for each—Yaśāscandra, the author of the Mudritakumudacandra Prakaraṇa (p. 11 n.), was a Dharkāṭa, and Yaśaḥpāla, the author of the Moharāja-parājaya (para 32), was a Moḍha. Minister Padma, who is credited with the composition of several hymns (para 105), was a Vāyāḍā. There are many more authors, who deserve mention, but these few instances would suffice to show how both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī received equal devotion from the statesmen and merchant-princes of Gujarāt.

(i) *Somes'vara*

यस्यास्ते सुखपङ्कजे सुखवृत्तां वेदः स्मृतीर्वेदं यत्नेन सन्ननि यस्य यस्य रसना सुते च सूक्तामृतम् ।
राजानः श्रियमर्जयन्ति महतीं यत्पूजया गुर्जराः कर्तुं तस्य गुणस्तुतिं जगति कः सोमेश्वरखेश्वरः ॥

—Vastupāla¹

68. *Somes'vara* or *Somes'varadeva* was a close friend of *Vastupāla* and chief among the poets patronized by him. He was hereditary priest of the *Caulukya* kings of *Gujarāt*, and wielded great influence at the courts of *Aṇahilavād* and *Dhavalakka*. When *Vastupāla* and *Tejapāla* came to *Dhavalakka*, on their way back from a pilgrimage to *Śatruñjaya*, they met *Somes'vara* (para 47), and in a short time they became such fast friends that *Somes'vara* introduced them to king *Viradhavala*. It was probably after this that appreciating the capacities of the two brothers, *Viradhavala* borrowed their services from *Bhīmadeva II*. So it is quite likely that *Vastupāla* and *Somes'vara* knew each other at least some time before 1220 A. D., the date of beginning of *Vastupāla*'s ministry. And I may hazard a guess here that their acquaintance may have been earlier. *Somes'vara*, who was the hereditary *Purohita* of the *Caulukyias*, may have met *Vastupāla* at *Aṇahilavād* previously. The impression that these two remarkable men created upon each other may have developed at *Dhavalakka* into an admiring friendship, which might be regarded as the real fountain-head of this last political and cultural revival of Hindu *Gujarāt*.

Somes'vara and his ancestors

69. Unlike so many other authors in Sanskrit literature, *Somes'vara* has given a good deal of information not only about himself, but also about his ancestors. In the last canto of his *Surathotsava Mahākāvya*, called the *Kavi-Praśasti-Varṇana*, he has given brief life-sketches of ten of his ancestors, and also supplied important autobiographical details. It would be useful for our purpose to have a glance at the summary of that part of the canto. There *Somes'vara* says—"There is a city of *Brāhmins* called *Nagara*,² where the prescribed rituals are strictly adhered to, and where the *Kali* was unable to enter, as it was purified by the three sacred fires—viz. *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇa*. Really speaking, it is a great place of pilgrimage. There all the people recited *Vedas*, and even a child was not impure. It was fancied that attracted by the beauty and purity of the place, Gods abandoned the heaven and incarnating themselves as *Brāhmins*, resided there. In that city among the *Brāhmins* of the *Vasiṣṭha Gotra* there was a family bearing the surname *Gulecā*.³ In that family a great *Brāhmin* called *Solaśarman* was born, who satisfied his ancestors with the *Soma* juice in the sacrifices performed by him, and also by doing the *Śrādhha* ceremony at *Prayāga*. He was

1 Quoted in UR, I. 8.

2 A shortened form of *Vaṇnagara* (ancient *Ānandapura*) in North *Gujarāt*, from which the *Vaṇnagarā Nāgar Brāhmins* of *Gujarāt* get their name.

3 Among the present-day *Nāgaras*, the *Gulecā gotra* is mentioned at the time of the *Gotroccāra* at the good-bye ceremony after the marriage; vide *Dhruva, Digdarśana* (Guj.), p. 18n.

made Purohita by Mūlarāja, the lord of the Gurjara land, and consequently he attained fame among the Caulukyās, just as Vasiṣṭha in the solar dynasty. Even in this Kali age he performed the Vājapeya sacrifice according to proper rituals. How far shall I describe his good deeds? It is enough to say that he used to recite the Ṛgveda, had performed a number of sacrifices, gave food to the hungry, and controlled his senses. His son was Lallaśarman, who was the Purohita of Cāmuṇḍarāja, Mūlarāja's son. The son of Lallaśarman was Muñja, who became the priest of Durlabharāja. Under his priesthood, nothing in this world was unattainable for Durlabharāja. His Son was Soma,¹ by whose favour the kings attained victory everywhere. Soma's son was Āmaśarman, who performed six forms of the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifices and bore sacrificial title of Samrāt.² He was the Purohita of king Karṇa, the father of Sidhharāja. The wealth he received from the Caulukya kings, he spent in building the shrines of Śiva, digging ponds, beautiful with lotuses, and giving donations to the poor. Once Karṇa had invaded the kingdom of Dhārā. Realising that the Mālava army was being defeated in the combat, the Purohit of Dhārā produced a Kṛtyā or demoness. But Āmaśarman not only protected his king by the power of his Mantras, but defeated the Kṛtyā, who disappeared after destroying her creator. The son of Āmaśarman was Kumāra, who was the Purohita of Sidhharāja. By the power of his

1 This must be the same Soma or Someśvara, who was instrumental in getting admission to Anahilavād for the Suvihita Jains monks (vide supra para 37).

2 It is noteworthy that in mediaeval Gujārāt not only Vedic sacrifices were performed, but they were popular. The tradition continued, at least, upto the beginning of the 14th century A. D., when the Muslims captured Anahilavād. Candu Pandita (1297 A. D.), the celebrated commentator of the Naiṣadhīyacarita and an inhabitant of Dhavalakka, had performed several Vedic sacrifices like Dvādaśāha and Agnicayana. By performing the Vājapeya and Bṛhaspatisava sacrifices he got the titles of Samrāt and Sthapati, respectively—

यो वाजपेययज्ञेन बभूव सत्राद् कृत्वा बृहस्पतिसं स्वपतित्वमाय ।

यो द्वादशाह्य(ज)नेऽग्निविद्व्यभूत् सः श्रीचण्डुपण्डित इमां विततान दीकाम् ॥

He also performed a number of Somaśatras. Candu is the only commentator of Sanskrit poems, who often quotes the Śrauta Sūtras (Handiqui, Naiṣadhīyacarita, trans. intro., p. 3). This shows how Vedic learning flourished in Gujārāt especially among the Brāhmins from Vāḍnagar, Anahilavād and Dhavalakka. Dhavalakka, which was the place of Vastupāla's activity became the second capital of Gujārāt not only from political but also from cultural point of view. It would be interesting to mention in this respect that the Tattvopaplavasiṃha of Jayarāsi Bhaṭṭa (circa 7th–8th century), a unique work on the Lokāyata philosophy, was copied down at Dhavalakka in the year 1293 A. D. This shows that dialectics was a highly prized subject in that city during the reign of the Vāghelās, and even study of the tenets of an almost forgotten school of philosophy like that of Cārvāka was not neglected (R. C. Parikh, Tattvopaplavasiṃha, intro., pp. 1 f.).

blessings Sidhharāja captured the lord of Sindhudeśa, put into prison the powerful king of Mālvā with his harem, and taught the haughty chief of Sapādalakṣa how to bow down his head. This Purohita of the Cakravartin performed many sacrifices and dug hundreds of ponds. Kumāra's son was Sarvadeva, who was highly proficient in the Manusmṛti. Following the tradition of his ancestors, he performed sacrifices, and satisfied the people by giving donations, but never stretched his own hand to receive them. Sarvadeva's son was Āmiga, who was a Vedic scholar. To him, who liked to do good deeds, only two things were shameful—viz. to hear his praise from the superiors and living in this prison-house of the worldly existence. He had four sons like the four Vedas of the Brahman or creator. Eldest among them was Sarvadeva, who was a great scholar. Names of other three were Kumāra, Muñja, and Āhaḍa. Sarvadeva immersed the remains of king Kumārapāla in the sacred Ganges, and satisfied the Brāhmins of Gayā and Prayāga by giving them donations. He sunk tanks in various places, worshipped Śiva everyday, welcomed every Brāhmin, and consequently, he was praised in every house. His brother, Kumāra, was free from greed. One day, at the time of the solar eclipse, the king of Gujarāt, who was Kumārapāla's son,¹ offered him many jewels, but he did not accept them, though pressed by the donor. By worshipping the Śiva-god called Kaṭukeśvara, he healed the fatal wounds of Ajayapāla, which the later had received in a battle. At a time of famine, when the people had become emaciated like skeletons, he prevailed upon king Mūlāja II to remit the taxes. Pratāpamalla of the Rāstrakūṭa clan had made him his counsellor. Once the Caulukya king appointed him as the commander, and by defeating the enemies he proved himself worthy of choice. Once Kumāra fought with king Vindhya, the grandson of Yośo-varman, the lord of Dhārā. Not only did he drive away Vindhya, but having devastated his city called Gogasthāna, dug a well on the site of his palace. He got great wealth from the land of Mālvā, and gave it away when he went to Gayā for a Śrādhha ceremony. Kumāra defeated the invincible army of the lord of the Mlechhas near a place named Rājñisara or Rānisara, and satisfied the manes by performing the rites with the waters of the holy Ganges. He was proficient in the six Karmans of the Brāhmin, and always uttered the sacred syllables—सुखं सः. He had shown his proficiency in the Śāstras when performing sacrifices, and that in Śāstra or arms when fighting in the battles. He always bore the Brahmasūtra or sacred thread on his body, and Rājya-sūtra in his heart, that is, he incessantly thought about the welfare of the state and the king. Kumāra had an obedient wife named Lakṣmī, who was beautiful like the goddess Lakṣmī. She gave birth to three sons—Mahādeva, Someśvaradeva and Vijaya”.²

1 As Kumārapāla had no son, we take the word 'son' (Kumārapālasya sutena rājñā—v. 31) to mean his 'successor'. We are totally justified in this interpretation, because just after this, Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārapāla, is expressly mentioned by his name (v. 32).

2 SU, XV. 1-43.

70. Thus Someśvara was the son of Kumāra and Lakṣmī. He had two brothers, one elder and the other younger, named Mahādeva and Vijaya respectively. He has given the history of his ancestors ranging over a long period of about 250 years from the days of Mūlarāja. It is evident from this account that Someśvara was born in one of the most eminent, learned and wealthy Brāhmin families of Gujarāt. That family hailed from Vaḍnagar. In addition to doing the work of the high priest of the king, some members of the family, like Someśvara's father Kumāra, could fight and command an army successfully. We can say, on the authority of the Amamacaritra of Muncandrasūri (1199 A. D.) that the same gentleman was the chief accountant of Gujarāt (Nṛpākṣapaṭālādhyakṣa) for some time and that he had revised and corrected the said work at the author's request. This would not appear strange when we look to the manifold duties of the Rājapurohita in ancient India, who was not only an expert in the Śāstras, but also proficient in the Daṇḍanīti or politics, and sometimes had to look after the civil and military administration. We have seen above that Vedic learning and rituals were highly prized things among the ancestors of Someśvara, and some of them were, no doubt, great scholars. But it may be remarked here that though Someśvara has given many interesting details about his ancestors, he has said nothing about their literary works, if they wrote any.

Literary works of Someśvara

71. After eulogizing his ancestors, Someśvara has mentioned a few facts about himself in the Surathotsava. He says how contemporary poets like Harihara and Subhaṭa appreciated his poetry.¹ By composing a work full of poetic merits, and a play, within only half of a Yāma (one and a half hour), he had highly entertained the members of the court of Bhīmadeva.² After praising his own poetry, and also the poetry and munificence of Vastupāla in a number of verses (vv. 48–66), he closes the canto, which shows that the author and the patron were fast friends before the composition of the Surathotsava.

72. In addition to the Surathotsava, based on the Devīmāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, the poet has composed other works. The Kīrtikaumudī Mahākāvya is a panegyric of the glorious deeds of Vastupāla and is very important for the study of contemporary history and society. He wrote a play—Ullāgharāghava,³ dramatizing the Rāmāyaṇa story. It was acted in

1 श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवकवेरेवेल लोकमृणं गुणग्रामम् । हरिहरसुभटप्रभृतिभिरसिंहितमेवं कविप्रवरैः ॥

x x x x x

वाग्देवतावसन्तस्य कवेः श्रीसोमशर्मणः । धुनोति विबुधान् सक्तिः साहित्याम्भोनिधेः सुधा ॥

तव वक्त्रं शतपत्रं सद्गुणं सर्वशास्त्रसंपूर्णम् ॥ अवतु निजं पुस्तकमिव सोमेश्वरदेव वाग्देवी ॥

—Ibid, XV. 44 and 46–47.

2 काव्येन नव्यपदपाकरसास्पदेन यामार्धमात्रवदितेन च नाटकेन ।

श्रीभीमभूमिपतिसंसदि सभ्यलोकमस्तोकसमदवशंवदमादधे यः ॥ —Ibid, XV. 49.

3 अस्त्वेव वशिष्ठान्वयसंप्रभूतेश्रुलुक्चक्रवर्तिवन्दितचरणारविन्दस्य श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृतिर्नैवमुल्लाघराद्यं नाम नाटकम् ।—UR, prologue.

the famous temple at Dvārakā on the Prabodhini Ekādaśī.¹ We cannot say with certainty whether the play with which Someśvara entertained the assembly of Bhīmadeva II was this Ullāgharāghava. The Ullāgharāghava, as we know from the play, was written at the request of the poet's son Bhallaśarman,² and was performed at Dvārakā, as already pointed out. But this, however, does not exclude the possibility of the Ullāgharāghava being identical with the play mentioned in the last canto of the Surathotsava.

73. In addition to these, Someśvara has composed an anthology of didactic verses called the *Karṇāmṛtaprapā*.³ No scholar has taken any notice of the work until now. *Rāmaśataka*, a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses, is also a work of Someśvara,⁴ and was once very popular, judging from the number of manuscripts of the poem and of its two commentaries—one by Ekanātha and the other by some unknown author.⁵ The *Ābu Praśasti*⁶ of Someśvara bears the date of 1287 V. S. (1231 A. D.), the year of installation of the image of Neminātha in the temple. The metrical portion in two, out of several, Gīrnār inscriptions of Vastupāla are from the pen of Someśvara.⁷ His Vaidyanātha Praśasti, commemorating the reparation of the Vaidyanātha temple at Darbhāvati,⁸ by king Visaladeva, bears the date of V. S. 1311 (1255 A. D.), which shows that Someśvara lived at least for 16 years after the death of Vastupāla. The Vaidyanātha Praśasti seems to be his last composition. One more Praśasti was written by Someśvara, but no trace of it is available to-day. That was the Praśasti of the *Viranārāyaṇa Prāsāda*, built by king Viradhavala at Dhavalakka. It contained 108 verses.⁹ It can be inferred from the name of the monument that it was a temple of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. No remains of this temple nor any other building of Vastupāla have survived at modern Dholkā. From his numerous compositions on various subjects, it appears that Someśvara was a man of liberal outlook. Though he was a devout śaiva and śākta and

1 तदस्य भगवतः श्रीद्वारिकालङ्कारनीलमणेः श्रीकृष्णदेवस्य पुरतः श्रीप्रबोधैकादशीपर्वणि सर्वदिगागतानां सामाजिकजनानां जनकसुतापत्तिचरितभिनयदानेन कृतार्थयामि संसारकदर्थितमात्मानम् ।

—Ibid, prologue.

2 तदङ्गजः स्वाङ्गजमल्लशर्मप्रयुक्त्या प्रार्थनया प्रणुन्नः । चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा रामायणं नाटकरूपमेतत् ॥

—Ibid, last verse.

3 कष्टा नद्यापि निर्विश्व रसांस्तेष्वपि नीरसः । श्रीकुमारसुतो ब्रूते पिपासुर्नैवमं रसम् ॥ —*Karṇāmṛta-prapā*, v. 4.

संसारखलदुःस्थानां प्राणिनां प्रीतिहेतवे । श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवेन कृता कर्णामृतप्रपा ॥ —Ibid, v. 217.

4 विश्वम्भरामण्डलमण्डनस्य श्रीरामभद्रस्य यशःप्रशस्तिम् ।

चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा यामार्धनिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धः ॥ —*Rāmaśataka*, v. 101.

5 Five manuscripts of the *Rāmaśataka* are preserved in the Government collection deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. A manuscript of the commentary by the anonymous writer was got by me from the collection of Muni Śrī Pūyavijayaji.

6 PJLS, no. 65; HIG, no. 206.

7 PJLS, nos. 38-1 and 40-3; HIG, nos. 207, and 209; PLM, nos. 168 and 170.

8 EL, Vol. I, pp. 20ff.; HIG, no. 215.

9 PK, p. 59.

an adept in the Vedas, he wrote not only poems and plays praising Rāma, but also Praśastis for the Jaina temples.

This Someśvara is different from the author of the Kāvyaḍars'a.

74. Some scholars have tried to identify our Someśvara with the author of a commentary on the Kāvyaṣaṁkāśa, known as the Kāvyaḍars'a, whose name was also Someśvara.¹ But the identification is not correct, as the author of the Kāvyaḍars'a was the son of Devaka of the Bhāradvāja Gotra,² while our Someśvara was the son of Kumāra of the Vasiṣṭha Gotra. And hence the two authors are different.

Chronology of Someśvara's works

75. No work of Someśvara, except his inscriptions, bears any date. But the upper or lower limit of at least some of those works can be decided on the basis of internal evidence. A comparison of the Surathotsava and the Kīrtikaumudī reveals a great difference between the style of these two poems. In the former, the style appears to be more or less of the Gauḍī type, forced and obscure, and full of tiresome puns, while the style of the latter is of the Vaidarbhī type, marked by perspicuity, and makes one believe that here the model was that of Kālidāsa. One cannot with certainty view this difference of style as a criterion of priority in time, but it tempts one to believe that probably the work of the Gauḍī style may have been earlier. This surmise is further corroborated by the subject-matter of the two poems. The Surathotsava is more or less an allegory of the political misfortunes of Bhīmadeva II and the re-establishment of his power at Aṇahilavāḍ. We know from a grant dated 1224 A. D., that by that time one Jayantasīma had usurped the throne of Aṇahilavāḍ (para 48). Naturally, Bhīma had to take refuge somewhere, and he could regain his lost kingdom in 1225 or 1226 in any case, before 1227 A. D. (GMRI, Vol. II, p. 359) through the faithful services of Lavaṇaprasāda and his son. The Surathotsava also describes similar misfortunes of, and regaining of power by a mythical king Suratha (para 169-71), and it is quite probable that Someśvara may have chosen the story of Suratha as the theme of his poem on account of its striking similarity with contemporary events, and that he may have written the work to commemorate the re-establishment of Bhīmadeva's power, sometime about 1227 A. D. The Kīrtikaumudī (IX. 31) narrates the events of Vastupāla's life, including the temples that he built at Śatruñjaya, and on the reasons adduced by Kathavate (KK, intro., p. 17) it was composed after 1232 A. D. Nothing definite can be said about the dates of the Kaṇāmṛtaprapā and the Rāmaśataka, though on the basis of stylistic improvements, I would like to consider both of them as later than the Sarathotsava.

1 Peterson, Report V; p. 84; CC, Vol. I, pp. 102 and 737. Also vide SU, intro, p. 16.

2 मरदाजकुलोत्तंसभट्टदेवकयुनुना । सोमेश्वरेण रचितः काव्यादर्शः सुमेधसा ॥ (JBC, intro., p. 62 n.) This Someśvara must have lived in or before the 12th century A. D., as the manuscript of his work in the Jesalmer Bhāṇḍār is dated 1213 V. S. = 1227 A. D. (Ibid, p. 43).

Stray verses of Someśvara

76. The Prabandhas give a number of references and anecdotes which bear upon Someśvara's relation with Vastupāla. All these cannot be taken at their face-value, but a critical examination of them reveals that they are based upon historical facts I have been able to gather a number of such references, out of which some important and interesting ones may be mentioned here:

Once in rainy season Vastupāla and Someśvara had been to the port of Stambhatīrtha. At that time horses imported from some foreign country¹ were being brought down from the ships. Vastupāla looked at the horses and gave the following Samasyā to Someśvara—

प्राङ्काले पयोरशिः कथं गर्जितवर्जितः ।

to which Someśvara gave a swift answer as follows—

अंतःसुप्तजगन्नाथनिद्रामङ्गमयादिव ॥

And he was promptly rewarded with a gift of 16 horses.²

On one occasion the members of the literary circle had assembled. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were also present. A Samasyā was given—काकः किं वा क्रमेलकः । Someśvara promptly composed a couplet and the seemingly irrelevant words of the Samasyā became full of meaning—

येनागच्छन्ममाख्यातो येनानीतश्च मे पतिः । प्रथमः सखि कः पूज्यः काकः किं वा क्रमेलकः ॥

Highly pleased at this gift of ready poetry, Vastupāla gave Someśvara a present of 16 thousand drammas.³

Once when Someśvara came to Vastupāla's mansion he was given a seat, which he did not occupy. When asked the reason for this, he uttered the following verse—

अन्नशानैः पयःपानैर्मैस्थानैश्च भूतलम् । यशसा वस्तुपालेन रुद्धमाकाशमण्डलम् ॥

Having heard this the minister gave nine thousand drammas.⁴

During one of his Saṃghayātrās to Śatruñjaya, the minister was worshipping the Jina, when the supplicants ran towards him all at a time. Looking to the crowd Someśvara spoke the following verse—

इच्छासिद्धिसमुन्नते सुरगणे कल्पद्रुमैः स्वीयते पात्राले पवमानभोजनजने कष्टं प्रणष्टो बलिः ।

नीरागानगमन्मुनीन् सुरभयश्चिन्तामणिः क्वाप्यगाल् तस्मादर्थिकदर्शनां विषहतां श्रीवस्तुपालः क्षितौ ॥

The Prabandhas say that for this he received a large sum as a gift.⁵

When Vastupāla returned from the campaign in which he defeated Śaṃkha, he was received by Someśvara with the following śloka—

1 It is well-known that high-breed horses were imported in India from foreign countries like Arabia (BP, Vol. XC, pp. 195 f). There were settlements of Arab merchants in the coastal cities. Sadik or Said was probably a wealthy and influential one among them (vide supra para 59).

2 PK, p. 121 ; VC, VII. 377-84.

3 Ibid.

4 PC, p. 104 ; UT, p. 76.

5 PK, p. 116 ; UT, p. 74.

श्रीवस्तुपाल प्रतिपक्षकाल त्वया प्रपेदे पुरुषोत्तमत्वम् ।

तीरेऽपि वाङ्मैरकृतेऽपि मात्स्ये दूरं पराजीयत येन शङ्कः ॥¹

77. In addition to these specimens, the Prabandhas have quoted a number of stray extempore verses spoken by Someśvara on particular occasions. His praise of Tejapāla when the latter returned after defeating Ghūghula,² beautiful description of the Lalitāsara, a lake built by Vastupāla at Pālītāṇā and named after his wife,³ laudatory verses for Vastupāla during the Saṅghayātrā on Śatruñjaya,⁴ verses in praise of Viradhavala when he held durbar after a victory—⁵ these are some of the illustrations in point. The Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlaṇa contains four verses⁶ of Someśvaradeva. Now, we know that there were more than one poets of this name,⁷ and one is not quite sure whether the author of these verses is our Someśvara. But considering the fact that the Sūktimuktāvali contains verses of several other Sanskrit poets from Gujārāt—like Hemacandra, Somaprabha, Śrīpāla, Vastupāla, Vāgbhaṭa, Vijayapāla, Prahlādana, Durlabharāja, Devabodhi or Devabodha,⁸ Kumudacandra, Arasī Thakkura or Arisimha and also two verses ascribed to Jayasimha Sidhharāja, the famous king of Aṇahilavād, it is quite possible that the said Someśvaradeva is none other than our author. The probability becomes stronger when we know that our author prefers to mention himself as Someśvaradeva, just as the compiler of the Sūktimuktāvali has done. Moreover, the Sūktimuktāvali quotes two verses from the Vaidyanāthaprasasti,⁹ which is definitely a work of Someśvara. The anthologies seldom quote from inscriptions, and the fact that the Vaidyanāthaprasasti is quoted that way shows that it was considered a composition of high literary merit.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that a verse

1 PPS, p. 74.

2 PPS, p. 69; VC, III. 428-33.

3 Ibid, p. 72; also PC, p. 102; VC, VI. 512; UT, p. 79.

4 VC, VI. 83; UT, p. 75.

5 VC, III. 464-68.

6 इन्द्राभ्यर्चनवा०, यथावदादनात्०, वनमुवि०, वाचं यस्तरस०.

7 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 1108-9.

8 The Prabhāvakacarita (ch. 21) says that Devabodha had come to Aṇahilavād during the reign of Sidhharāja and had come in contact with the poet Śrīpāla. He is said to be an Ācārya of the Bhāgavata sect. Both Devabodha and Śrīpāla were favourites of Sidhharāja, though their relations were anything but friendly (R. C. Parikh, Kāvyaṇuśāsana, intro., pp. 255 ff.).

9 सिन्दूरं सीमन्तात्० and यद्येतत्सुयवह्नि०. As the text of the Prasasti has been found in a very fragmentary form owing to the delapidated state of the slab bearing the inscription, it has not been possible to trace out these verses.

10 Another inscription quoted in the Sūktimuktāvali is the Somanāthaprasasti, evidently an inscription from Gujārāt (सन्ध्याताण्डव० etc.). As the verse is not found in any of the extant inscriptions connected with the famous Somanātha temple, it may belong to some earlier Prasasti of the same shrine, which was repaired more than once.

from the Kirtikaumudī (VII. 79. निगदिदुं विधिनापि०) has found place in the Vasanta Vilāsa, an old Gujarātī Phāgu of the 15th century A. D.

Somes'vara abandoned the Vyāsavidyā after the death of Vastupāla

78. Somes'vara's verses in praise of Vastupāla, referred to above, reveal the respect and admiration of a friend. Vastupāla has also paid tribute to the scholarship, poetic merits and high position of Somes'vara in equally glowing terms (in the verse quoted in the beginning of the para 68). According to the Prabandhas, it was Somes'vara who had saved Vastupāla twice from the wrath of king Viśaladeva (vide supra para 54). When Viśaladeva was harassing Vastupāla and Tejapāla, inspite of their previous obligations on him, Somes'vara readily composed a verse suggesting the ruler's ingratitude, and the king was ashamed.¹ The Prabandha notes that after the death of Vastupāla, Somes'vara abandoned the Vyāsavidyā to mark his deep sense of bereavement at the loss of his great friend, and refused to recite the Pūrāṇas, though pressed by the king. And the king appointed another man named Gaṇapati Vyāsa to do the work.² There seems to be truth in the tradition as we find Gaṇapati Vyāsa as the writer of the second Pras'asti of Nānāka in 1272 A. D., in which he mentions himself as the author of a work called Dhārādhvamsa, commemorating Viśaladeva's victory over Mālvā.³ It is clear that Gaṇapati Vyāsa had become the court-poet of Viśaladeva.

79. We do not know the date of Somes'vara's death, just as we do not get his birth-date. He was living at least upto 1255 A. D., the date of the Vaidyanāthapras'asti.

(ii) Harihara

मुखा मधु मुखा सीधु मुखा कोऽपि सुधारसः । आस्वादितं मनोहारि यदि हरिहरं वचः ॥

—Vastupāla⁴

स्वाक्पाकेन यो वाचां पाकं शास्त्रपरान् कवीन् । कथं हरिहरः सोऽभूत् कवीनां पाकशासनः ॥

—Somes'vara⁵

80. Harihara appears to be one of the prominent literary figures of the time, as Rājasekhara has devoted one whole Prabandha to him in the Prabandhakōśa, and Vastupāla also held his poetry in high esteem. According to the Prabandhakōśa,⁶ Harihara was a descendent of Śrīhara, author of the famous Naiṣadhiyacarita (circa 1174 A. D.)⁷, one of the most formidable, yet poetic compositions in Sanskrit literature. It was Harihara who had brought the first manuscript of the Naiṣadha to Gujarāt and it was at the

1 PK, p. 126; VC, III. 332; VTK, p. 80.

2 PPS, p. 80.

3 HIG, no. 219, v. 18.

4 Quoted in PK, p. 58.

5 KK, I. 25.

6 PK, pp. 58 ff.

7 Paṇḍita Śivadatta, Naiṣadhiyacarita, intro., pp. 9-13; Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 177-78.

initiative of Vastupāla that the work got a wide currency in the province, as a result of which the oldest commentaries of the work were written solely in Gujarāt.

Traditional account of Harihara

81. The Prabandha says that Harihara was a rich man, and came to Gujarāt with a caravan of 50 camels, 200 horses and 500 men from the Gauḍa country. While on the way, he gave food to the hungry with a liberal hand. When he came to the outskirts of Dhavalakka he sent a man to the court to carry intimation of his arrival, and convey his blessings to Viradhavala, Vastupāla and Someśvara. Vastupāla and Viradhavala were glad that such a scholar had come to their land and decided to receive him next day in a public procession. But Someśvara became jealous, and did not show enough courtesy even to speak with the messenger. Next day, Harihara was received with great honour by the king and the minister and was lodged in a mansion. Since then, everyday, Harihara used to come to the court, where literary discussions were carried on. Once Viradhavala asked Harihara to examine the poetic merits of 108 verses of the Praśasti of the Viranārāyaṇa Prāsāda built by him. The Praśasti was a composition of Someśvara, and Harihara, who was angry at the apparent jealousy of the court-poet, said—"I have seen all these verses in the shrine called the Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa Prāsāda, built by Bhojadeva in Ujjayini. If you are not convinced of the truth of my statement, hear me; I recite all the verses one by one." And he recited all the verses in due order. Viradhavala and Vastupāla became sorry, and Someśvara who was thus charged with plagiarism became so much ashamed that he was not able even to show his face. Sometime after, Someśvara went to Vastupāla and told how wrongly he was made a butt of ridicule. Vastupāla advised him to befriend Harihara, and both of them went to Harihara's house. Someśvara requested Harihara to absolve him from the wrong charge of plagiarism; and Harihara accepted to do so. Next day in the court, Harihara said that the goddess Sarasvati was pleased with him, and that he could recite 108 verses of any description if he had heard them only once, and gave the example of the verses of Someśvara's Praśasti, which he had recited that way. To convince the king and the courtiers about the veracity of his statement Harihara did show again several such intellectual feats there and then. Viradhavala asked Harihara—"if such was the case, why did you accuse Someśvara of plagiarism?" Harihara replied that he had done so because Someśvara had insulted him. But after all, the matters had become clear and both the literary men became friends through the intervention of Viradhavala, and Someśvara's literary career was shown to be spotless. After that the literary discussions in the court became more lively, and at times Harihara used to recite verses from the Naisadha. The Naisadha which was composed about 1174 A. D., was not known in Gujarāt by the time of Vastupāla, and all became astonished by the poetic merits of the work which was also full of scholarship. Once, when questioned by Vastupāla, Harihara said that the verses were from the poem Naisadha and

that Śrīhara was its author. Vastupāla asked for the manuscript of the work, and Harihara lent it only for one night, as it was very rare. Vastupāla got it copied down during the night, and put it in his own library after binding it with old strings and making it dusty by strewing scented powders over it. When Harihara came next morning to get his book back the minister spoke, "I remember that I have got this work in my library." He told his men to bring the book and the new copy of the manuscript was found out after some delay and shown to Harihara. Harihara was astonished, and said, "This is your strategy. None else is clever enough to do this. You have punished the enemies in a fitting manner, established the influence of jaina, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva religions, and put the dynasty of your master on the path of glory.¹

Study and circulation of the Naiṣadha in Gujarāt

82. We cannot be sure whether the above account given in the Prabandhakośa is quite accurate in its details. According to Bühler² and others, the Jaina Prabandhas are composed on the basis of historical traditions preserved and transmitted through the Vṛddhaparamparā or through a line of teachers, and there is every probability that the account as a whole may be correct. It also throws some light on the atmosphere of the courts, where a number of poets and scholars gathered together, and competed with each other for royal or ministerial favour. There is no reason to doubt that the first manuscript of the Naiṣadha was brought by Harihara, and that Vastupāla was instrumental in the circulation of that work in the literary world of Gujarāt, because the oldest manuscripts of it are available only in Gujarāt. Two palm-leaf manuscripts of the Naiṣadha as old as V. S. 1304 (1248 A. D.) and V. S. 1395 (1339 A. D.) are preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭan.³ One more palm-leaf manuscript copied down in V. S. 1378 (1322 A. D.) is preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Jesalmer⁴, and there are a few other palm-leaf manuscripts without any date, at both the places.⁵ It has also been shown that a copy of the Naiṣadha was put in the Bhārati-Bhāṇḍāgāra or the library of king Viśaladeva,⁶ which may be possibly from the original manuscript in the possession of Harihara or from its copy which was procured by Vastupāla. The oldest commentaries of that celebrated poem are also from Gujarāt—one by Vidyādhara, known as the Sāhityavidyādhari, and the other by the famous Caṇḍu Paṇḍita of Dhavalakka. The commentary of Vidyādhara was composed probably during the reign of Viśaladeva (1238–1261 A. D.), as the author has commented upon the text as it was found in the manuscript in the Royal library of Viśaladeva.⁷ The commentary of Caṇḍu Paṇḍita was written in 1353 V. S. (1297 A. D.), according to

1 PK, pp. 58 ff

2 Bühler, *Life of Hemacandrācārya*, p. 4.

3 PBC, pp. 64 and 113.

4 JBC, p. 14.

5 Ibid, pp. 13, 16, 17; PBC, p. 170.

6 Handiqui, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

7 Sāndesarā, BHV, Vol. III, p. 26.

the author's own statement.¹ The wide popularity of the Naiṣadha in the scholarly world of Gujarāt within a century of its composition was mainly due to Harihara's coming to Gujarāt, and also to the scholastic activities of the literary circle patronized by Vastupāla and the Vāghelā kings like Viradhavala and Viśaladeva. The visit of Harihara reminds one of the visit of the poet Bihlāya, who had also come to Gujarāt from the far off land of Kāśmīr, and had composed a play-Karṇasundarī Nāṭikā—staying at Aṇahilavād, during the reign of Karṇa, the father of Sidharāja (para 38).

Stray verses of Harihara

83. According to Someśvara's statement in the Kīrtikaumudī, Harihara was a distinguished poet. If Harihara wrote any works they have not been discovered. A number of verses ascribed to him are found in the Prabandhas. His two verses in praise of Viradhavala when the latter came to receive him along with Vastupāla,² his praise of Vastupāla when the minister gave away to the supplicants the gold obtained from a golden staff sent to Viradhavala by a foreign king as a token of his submission,³ and his verses on the occasion of the Saṃghayātrā of Vastupāla,⁴ are particularly interesting. The Sūktimuktāvalī and the Śārngadharapadhhati contain a number of verses in the name of Harihara, but we are not sure whether they are the compositions of our Harihara or of some other poet of that name.

84. We do not know exactly how long Harihara lived in Gujarāt, but from the account given in the Prabandha it appears that he must have stayed at Dhavalakka at least for a few years. The Prabandha says that once Harihara went to Prabhāsa to pay his homage to the god Someśvara or Somanātha. But there, because of similarity in name he was reminded of the rough behaviour of the poet Someśvara towards him, and at once burst forth into two verses, one of which runs as follows and also contains the name of its composer—

क्व यातु क्वायातु क्व वदतु समं केन पठतु क्व काव्यान्यव्याजं रचयतु सदः कस्य विशतु ।
खल्व्यालयस्ते जगति न गतिः क्वापि कृतिनामिति ज्ञात्वा तत्त्वं हर हर विमूढो हरिहरः ॥⁵

And he gave half of his wealth to the supplicants and taking the rest with him came to Dhavalakka from where taking leave of Viradhavala and Vastupāla went to Kāśī.⁶

1 Ibid.

2 शम्भुमानससंनिधौ, दृष्टस्तेन शरान् PK, p. 58.

3 आः! साम्यं न सहे Ibid, p. 61.

4 धन्यः स वीरधवलः, आजन्मापि वशीकृताय VC, VI. 79-80.

5 PK, p. 61. The other verse is आरुक्षाम नृपप्रसादं. The interpretation of the verse क्व यातु by Rājasekhara does not appear to be historically correct, because both Someśvara and Harihara have praised the poetry of each other (KK, I. 25; SU, XV. 44), and though their acquaintance had begun with mutual jealousy, it had developed into an admiring friendship. The Prabandha, as it can be seen, has put more emphasis on the tradition of their jealousy.

6 PK, p. 61.

(iii) Nānāka

मुखे यदीये विमलं कवित्वं बुद्धौ च तत्त्वं हृदि यस्य सत्त्वम् ।
 करे सदा दानमयावदानं पादे च सारस्वतीर्थयानम् ।
 काव्येषु नव्येषु ददाति कर्णं प्राप्नोति यः संसदि साधुवर्णम् ।
 विभूषणं यस्य सदा सुवर्णं प्राप्ते तु पात्रे न मुखं विवर्णम् ॥

—Gaṇapati Vyāsa¹

85. Nānākabhūti or Nānāka was born in an aristocratic family of learned Brāhmins, just like Someśvara and Harihara. He was a court poet of king Viśaladeva, and had also come in contact with Vastupāla. He had established a Sarasvatīsadas or college of learning at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ, where the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea.² Two Pras'astis³ recording the establishment of the college are found, and a good deal of information regarding Nānāka and his family can be obtained from them. The first Pras'asti is not dated, while the second one bears the date of 1328 V. S. (1272 A. D.), which is the eleventh year after king Viśaladeva's death. Even in the first Pras'asti Viśaladeva has been referred to as Tridas'asuhṛd or "the friend of Gods", which shows that he was not living. We can infer from this that Nānāka was considerably junior in age both to Viśaladeva and Vastupāla.

Family-history of Nānāka

86. Nānāka's family was staying at Ānandapura or Nagara (modern Vāḍnagar). He was a Nāgar Brāhmin by caste, and his gotra was Kāpiṣṭhala. The Pras'astis begin his genealogy from a man named Someśvara. Someśvara was born in the village Guñjā near Vāḍnagar, which belonged to the Brāhmins of the Vaijavāpa gotra, as it was given in gift to some Brāhmin of that gotra by a Caulukya king, who was pleased with the former's ministership.⁴ Someśvara was an Ācārya and the pupils taught by him also became very learned. He had a wife named Sitā and a son named Āmaṭa, who was an expert in sacrificial rituals. Āmaṭa's wife was Sajjanī, and she bore him a son named Govinda, who was learned like God Brahman. Govinda had two wives—Lāchī and suhavā. Suhavā was so full of excellences that no efforts to praise her could do them full justice. In her company Govinda paid off three debts, and having taken ablution in the sacred Rēvā

1 The second Pras'asti of Nānāka, vv. 14-15.

2 The site of the college of Nānāka is to be seen even to-day at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ, near the temple of Brahmeśvara. There, the Sarasvatī-Pūjā (ceremonial worship of Sarasvatī) is done every year on the last day of the Navarātrī festival.

3 IA, Vol. XI, pp 98 ff. Also HIG, nos. 218-19; Gadre, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. 14 ff.

4 Though Someśvara belonged to the Kāpiṣṭhala gotra, he was born in a village belonging to the Vaijavāpa gotra; so it can be inferred that the village Guñjā must be a place of his maternal grandfather. Vide R. C. Modi, Ācārya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha (Guj.), p. 386.

entered the fourth stage of life. He had three sons. The eldest among them was Puruṣottama, who was a student of the Vedas. The youngest son was named Malhaṇa, who flourished at the court of the king, being proficient in the six guṇas. He had done a pilgrimage to Kāśī, and could recite the whole of the Ṛgveda. Govinda's second son was Nānāka who was wealthy and was also a favourite of Sarasvatī. Nānāka made a deep study of the Kātantra grammar. He had a thorough grasp of the whole of the Ṛgveda, and was proficient in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis, an expert in the Kāvya, the Nāṭaka and the Alankāra. He was also a poet, as the Praśasti mentions that Sarasvatī had resided on his tongue to remove her bereavement caused by the passing away of her sons in the form of ancient poets. He has been mentioned as an ornament of the Nāgar community (नानाकः नागरोत्तमः, first Praśasti, v. 23). The name of his wife was Lakṣmī, who was a jewel of both the families. His son was Gaṇḍādhara, about whose achievements the Praśasti is silent, but whom it gives blessings, which shows that he was comparatively young at the time.

Nānāka patronized by Viśaladeva

87. Viśaladeva bestowed great favours on Nānāka. He gave Nānāka a mansion in a locality of the Brāhmins called the Viśalabrahmapurī built by himself at Prabhāsa and thus made him a resident of the holy place. At the time of worshipping Somanātha, Viśaladeva had given him the town of Vagasarā (modern Bagasarā in Saurāṣṭra) as gift. Nānāka, in his turn, used to please the king by reciting the sweet texts from the Purāṇas while the king was alive, and satisfied him by doing the Śrādhha after he became 'a friend of the gods.' Virabhadra, the head of the shrine of Somanātha, had given Nānāka the seventh share of the revenue of the town of Maṅgala Grāma (modern Māngrol on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra), pleased by his worship of Somanātha. Nānāka was well-known for his hospitality, and also helped his friends and relatives with a liberal hand.

Nānāka-a patron of poets

88. Thus we get sufficient information about Nānāka, his family and ancestors. His opulence and his love of learning were not the poetic exaggerations of a panegyrist, for we know that he established and maintained a college. He was wealthy enough to patronise other poets; his first Praśasti has been written by the poet Kṛṣṇa, son of Ratna and the grandson of the author of the Kuvalayāśvacarita, who was nick-named Bālasarasvatī by the people pleased by his Aṣṭāvadhāna powers, and the second one was composed by Gaṇapati Vyāsa, the author of the Dhārādhvaṃsa (para 78).

Nānāka's praise of Vastupāla

89. We do not possess any work from the pen of Nānāka, though the Praśastis speak much of his poetic achievements. An incomplete inscription from Vanthali in Saurāṣṭra¹ seems to be a composition of Nānāka, as the author mentions himself as an inhabitant of Ānandapura, gives Kāpiṣṭhala as

¹ Annals, Vol. V, p. 171, HIG, no. 225.

his gotra and mentions Govinda as his father. The last line has been inscribed only half, and thus the inscription has remained incomplete, and we do not get author's name. The date is also not known, as the first line is broken. This inscription can be considered a rare specimen of the poetry of Nānāka. The Prabandhakośa informs us that when Amaracandra entered the court of Visaladeva (vide para 103) his poetic faculties were tested by several poets including Nānāka.¹ Again, we get a further specimen of Nānāka's versification, which is especially noteworthy as it is indicative of his contact with Vastupāla: Once several poets were praising the generosity of Vastupāla, the minister's head hanging down in embarrassed modesty. At that time the young Nānāka uttered the following verse—

एकस्त्वं भुवनोपकारक इति श्रुत्वा सतां जल्पितं लज्जानम्रशिराः स्थिरातलमिदं यद्वीक्षसे वेत्ति तत् ।
वाग्देवीवदनारविन्दतिलक श्रीवस्तुपाल ध्रुवं पातालाद् बलिमुद्विष्युः सकृन्मार्गं भवान् मार्गति ॥

And the poet was awarded precious gifts.²

(iv) Yaśovīra

लक्ष्मीर्धनं न वाक् तत्र यत्र ते विनयो न हि । यशोवीर महच्चित्रं सा च सा च स च त्वयि ॥

—Vastupāla³

प्रकाश्यते सतां साक्षाद् यशोवीरेण धीमता । मुखे दन्तद्युता ब्राह्मीः करे श्रीः स्वर्णमुद्रया ॥

—Someśvara⁴

Yaśovīra—a close friend of Vastupāla

90. Yaśovīra was a close friend of Vastupāla. Someśvara has praised both these friends in a verse by describing them as "two sons of the goddess Sarasvatī."⁵ Yaśovīra was a Vapik and professed the jaina religion, though nothing is known about his specific caste. He was a minister of the Cohāṇa king Udayasinha of Jābālipura (modera jhālor in Rājputānā).⁶ The Kirtikaumudī has clearly mentioned him as "the minister of the Cohāṇa king",⁷ though it has not given the ruler's name. In the drama Hammīramadamar-dana (V. 48) of Jayasimhasūri, Vastupāla has been represented as honouring Yaśovīra as his elder brother. It can be said on the authority of the same

1 PK, 62. Here Nānāka has been referred to as the Visalanagariya or coming from Visalanagara (modern Visnagar in North Gujarat); in the same work elsewhere (p. 120) he is mentioned as the Mahānagariya or coming from Vaḍnagar. But it is evident on the authority of the contemporary Prasastis that Nānāka was an inhabitant of Vaḍnagar, and not of Visalanagara.

2 PK, p. 120. According to the PPS (p. 60), the sum awarded was 16000. The UT (p. 65) informs that Vastupāla gave Nānāka a tongue of gold. In a later collection of Prabandhas included in the PPS (p. 74) this verse has been ascribed to Someśvara.

3 Quoted in PC, p. 102.

4 KK, I. 27.

5 Ibid, I. 29.

6 VC, ch. VIII; PPS, p. 49

7 KK, I. 28.

work that Yaśovīra had rendered considerable help to Tejapāla in making Vastupāla's strategy successful against the Muslim invasion (which is the theme of the HMM), and that Yaśovīra's advice was sought by Tejapāla on all important matters at that time, as Mārvāḍ and Mevāḍ were the places of action (HMM, V. 47 and p. 54). The name of Yaśovīra's father was also Udayasimha, as is known with certainty from his inscriptions.¹ The Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha has given Dusāja as name of his father, and has also quoted some Apabhraṁśa Dūhās recited by the bards,² mentioning him as दुसाजुन (vide para 93); and this means that Dusāja may be another name of Yaśovīra's father Udayasimha. Yaśovīra's wife was Suhagadevī; he had five sons, out of which the name of only one, Karimasimha, is known.

Yaśovīra's knowledge of the Śīlpaśāstra

91. Yaśovīra was also known as the Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa,³ probably on account of his love for learning and his patronage of poets. Inscriptions call him Kavindrabandhu,⁴ perhaps on account of his close relationship with Vastupāla. Someśvara has devoted to him not less than four laudatory verses in the first canto of his Kīrtikaumudī, which also speak of his intimate contact with Someśvara's patron. We get the description of his meeting with Vastupāla at the time of the installation ceremony of the Luṇavasati in 1231 A. D. Udayasimha, the lord of Jābālipura, the chief of Naḍul and Parmār Somasimha of Candrāvati were among the royal personalities who had arrived to attend the function, and there were hundreds of officials from the towns and villages of the Caulukya kingdom.⁵ Yaśovīra had also arrived with his king. Vastupāla welcomed him with a number of verses, and Yośovīra, in his turn, praised Vastupāla with two poetic verses.⁶ Yośovīra has been mentioned in the Prabandhas as an authority on the science of architecture, and he was asked to give an opinion on the architecture of the Ābu temple. Then Yośovīra drew attention of Śobhanadeva, the chief architect, to the following defects according to the Śīlpaśāstra—"In the assembly-hall the broad passage between the two female statues is altogether inappropriate in the temple of a Tīrthamkara, and is forbidden by the treatises on architecture. Moreover, this arch over the door that leads into the inner cell of the temple, on account of the two lions on it, altogether disturbs the worship of the god; and moreover, the hall of the elephants adorned with the statues of ancestors in the back-part of

1 PJLS, nos. 108, 109, 213.

2 PPS, pp. 50-51. This Yaśovīra should not be considered identical with Yośovīra under whose patronage the play Prabudhharauhiṇeya was acted (para 38), because the latter was a son of Pāsu, and a senior contemporary of our Yaśovīra, and lived during the reign of Samarasimha, the father of Udayasimha, under whom our Yośovīra worked as minister (PJLS, no. 352; JSI, p. 325 n.).

3 PK, p. 123.

4 तदगजन्मास्ति कवीन्द्रबन्धुर्मेत्री यशोवीर इति प्रसिद्धः ।

राक्षीरसाभ्यां युगपद्गुणोत्थविरोधशान्त्यर्थमिवाश्रितो यः ॥ (PJLS, nos. 108, 109, 213).

5 VC. ch. VIII.

6 PC, pp. 101-2; PK, 124; PPS, pp. 70-71.

the temple, is fatal to the long life of the man who built the temple. That an intelligent architect should have committed these irremediable faults is to be ascribed to the force of actions in a former life, which must always produce their effect." And thus giving the decision Yośovīra returned to his place.¹

Yas'ovīra—a poet and a patron of literature.

92. From his verses quoted in the Prabandhas it seems that Yośovīra was a Sanskrit poet not devoid of merits. This is further corroborated by the fact that the Kirtikaumudī has compared him with the poets Kālidāsa, Māgha and Abhinanda.² But no work of Yośovīra has come down to us. Being a man in an eminent position, he was also a patron of literature. In a palm-leaf manuscript of a Sanskrit anthology of verses preserved in the Saṁghavi pādā Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ (no. 52 of the incomplete section), I saw several verses in praise of minister Yośovīra in the section called Sajjanaprasāmsā or the praise of the good. As the manuscript is fragmentary, we do not know either the date of composition or of copying or the name of the anthology or of the compiler. But this is enough to show how Yośovīra was held in high esteem by some poets. Jayamaṅgalasūri, grand-pupil of Vādī Devasūri and author of the Praśasti of Cācigedeva on the Sundhā hills in Rājasthān, had uttered the following verse, when Yośovīra installed the image of Mahāvīra in a temple called the Candana Vasati built by him at Jhālor—

यत्त्वयोपाजितं विचं यशोवीर प्रतिष्ठया । तद्वक्ष्युर्गितां नीतं यशो वीरप्रतिष्ठया ॥³

And the rhetorician Māṇikyacandra (see para 129-30), author of a commentary Saṁketa on the Kāvyaaprakāśa, thus praised Yośovīra on an occasion—

यशोवीर लिखित्वाख्यां यावच्चन्द्रे विधित्तव । न माति भुवने तावदाद्यमप्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥⁴

93. Yośovīra was well-known among the Cāraṇas or bards, because he patronized them with ample gifts. Several Apabhrāmśa Dūhās of the bards recited in his praise have been preserved in the Prabandhas, and they are important not only for the personal history of Yośovīra and his patronage of the bards, but also for the study of the Apabhrāmśa folk-literature of Gujarāt and Rājasthān, a valuable part of which has been preserved in the Prākṛit Grammar of Hemacandra, and works like the Prākṛit Pīṅgala. When Yośovīra concluded a treaty with Viśaladeva of Dhavalakka on behalf of his ruler Udayasiṁha and thus made the latter's kingdom safe, a bard uttered the following Apabhrāmśa couplet—

1 PC, p. 101. A further list of such architectural defects will be found in the PK, p. 124. We are not sure if these lists of defects, in their entirety, really came from Yośovīra. But we may say that he might have criticized the architecture of the temple from the point of view of the Vāstusāstra, which points out not only artistic defects, but what may be called defects according to rules derived from superstitious beliefs.

2 KK, I, 26.

3 PPS, p. 50.

4 Ibid, p. 50.

जिम केतू हरि आजु तिम जइ लंकां हुत दुसालुन ।

नाउं बूडत राजु राणाहीव रावण नगउं ॥¹

"O son of Dusāj ! had you been in Laṁkā just as you are here, the kingdom of the great king Rāvaṇa would not have gone."

94. As we have seen, Yośovira had built a temple in Jhālor. He had installed an image of Śāntinātha, the 16th Tīrthamkara, in a temple constructed for the spiritual welfare of his mother, in 1232 A. D. (1288 V. S.) at Mādri (near Eranapura Road in Mārvād),² and had also built two Deva-kulikās or small shrines on Ābu in 1235 A. D. (1291 V. S.).³ From the inscriptions in these places it seems that Yośovira was a follower of the Ācārya Śāntisūri of the Saṇḍeraka gachha of the jaina Śvetāmbara sect.

(v) Subhaṭa

सुभटेन पदन्यासः सः कोऽपि समितौ कृतः । येनाधुनापि धीराणां रोमाञ्चो नापचीयते ॥

—Somes'vara⁴

95. Nothing is known about the personal history of Subhaṭa, but his connection with the literary circle of Vastupāla is attested by the fact that Somes'vara has praised his poetry along with that of other poets of the circle like Naracandra, Vijayasena, Harihara and Yośovira; and that the Surathotsava informs us how Subhaṭa and Harihara appreciated the poetry of Somes'vara (see para 71). Only a one-act Sanskrit drama of Subhaṭa, the Dūtāṅgada, which is called a Chāyānāṭaka by the author, has come down to us. As is mentioned in the prologue, it was acted in Aṇahilavād by the order of king Tribhuvanapāla (1242-1244 A. D.) on the occasion of a festival in honour of the late king Kumārapāla. But when we take into consideration the title of Kavipravara or 'the chief among the poets' bestowed upon Subhaṭa by Somes'vara, it appears that he may have written some greater works worthy enough to justify that title. Subhaṭa has also described himself in the prologue as proficient in logic.

(vi) Arisimha

यत्कवेर्लवणसिंहजन्मनः काव्यमेतदमृतोददीर्घिका ।

वस्तुपालनवकीर्तिकन्यया धन्यया किमपि यत्र खेलितम् ॥

—Amaracandrasūri⁵

Arisimha and Amaracandra

96. Ṭhakkura Arisimha was the son of Lāvanyasimha or Lavaṇasimha.⁶ He was a favourite of Vastupāla, and had received from him land and

1 Ibid, p. 52. Two other Apabhraṁśa couplets in praise of Yaśovira are quoted in the same work (pp. 50-51). One couplet in Udayasimha's praise is also found there.

2 JSI, p. 389.

3 PJLS, nos. 108-9.

4 KK, I. 24.

5 SS, X. 46.

6 Ibid, VIII. 48 and X. 46.

other gifts, just like *Somes'vara*, the author of the *Kīrtikaumudī*.¹ According to the *Prabandhakos'a*, he was a follower of *Jinadattasūri* of the *Vāyāḍa gachha*,² and as such he may be considered a Jain. Though *Arisimha* was a layman, he was a *Kalāguru* or preceptor in fine arts of the famous poet and rhetorician *Amaracandra*.³ *Amaracandra* held *Arisimha* and his poetry in high esteem, as is clear from his works, and both the literary men, one a layman and another a monk, worked in close collaboration. Just as *Arisimha* had initiated *Amaracandra* into poetic art, it was *Amaracandra* who brought the former to the court of *Visaladeva*. Once *Visaladeva* asked *Amaracandra*, "who is your teacher in fine art?" *Amara* said, "the poet-prince *Arisimha*." "Then bring him to me to-morrow morning" (answered the king). The following morning *Amaracandra* led the poet before the king. The king sat leaning on his sword and asked, "is this the poet-prince?" He answered, "yes." Then the king said, "recite something suitable to the occasion." Thereupon *Arisimha* recited four verses in which he praised *Visaladeva's* sword. The prince was so charmed that he bestowed a permanent appointment and a high salary upon the poet. Soon afterwards the salary was doubled, because he described skilfully in a metrical form a blade of grass which the king held in his hand.⁴

The *Sukṛtasamkīrtana* and its date

97. Poetic fame of *Arisimha* had spread outside *Gujarāt* and a number of his verses have been included in the anthologies like the *Sūktimuktāvalī*⁵ and the *Śārngadhara-padhhati*.⁶ In these anthologies he has been mentioned as *Arasī Ṭhakkura*. *Arasī* is clearly the current form in *Prākṛit* of his name and the identification becomes all the more probable when we find that in the *Prabandhakos'a* his name has been spelt as *Arasimha*, the form which is so near to *Arasī* of the anthologies. The *Upadeśataramgiṇī* has quoted a verse of *Arisimha* in praise of *Vastupāla*, for which, according to that work, the former was awarded the sum of two thousand.⁷ But most remarkable specimen of the poetic activity of *Arisimha* is his *Mahākāvya Sukṛtasamkīrtana* written in praise of his patron *Vastupāla* for commemorating his good deeds. Five verses at the end of each canto of this *Mahākāvya* are the compositions not of *Arisimha*, but of *Amaracandra* or *Amara Paṇḍita*. It is stated, "in this work which *Arisimha* composed, *Amara Paṇḍita* wrote these four verses canto by canto."⁸ The number refers to the preceding four

1 UT, p. 79.

2 PK, p. 61.

3 PK, p. 61.

4 Ibid, p. 63.

5 अतिविपुलं, कान्तारे दैव, तडिद्रा पङ्को वा, दक्षिमथन, नक्तं निरंकुश, मध्येन तस्या. It may be remarked that दक्षिमथन is wrongly ascribed here to *Arisimha*, as it is from the eleventh canto of the *Ādiparvan* of the *Bālabhārata* of *Amaracandra*.

6 अतिविपुलं (no. 76).

7 UT, p. 73.

8 SS, I. 46.

verses and fifth which is repeated at the end of each canto is not reckoned. The verses have no close connection with the contents of the preceding parts. The first three either contain general praise of Vastupāla and bestow blessing upon him or mention incidents not described by Arisimha. The fourth always names Arisimha as the author of the work and praises his poetic skill; and the fifth mentions the fact that the preceding four are from the pen of Amara Paṇḍita.

98. Evidently, the Sukṛtasamkīrtana was composed when Vastupāla was at the zenith of his power.¹ This is proved, for instance, by two verses at the end of the first and second cantos—

“Daily, illustrious prince of the council! Vastupāla! the Brāhmins call blessings on you, ‘long may you live!’ The chief bards, ‘may you attain the age of Brahman’; and noble women, ‘may you never grow old, and be immortal!’ But I will also say something ‘may you rejoice in your life as long as your far-reaching fame dances in the sky’” (I. 42).

“Heavenly (wishing) cow, the (paradise) tree, (wish-fulfilling) precious stones! why hide ye yourselves in the tottering rocks of the divine mountain (Meru)? Adorn the earth; nobody demands you! May the illustrious minister Vastupāla live for ever!” (II. 52)

We are able to decide the upper and lower limits of the date of composition of the work more precisely. It was written most probably before 1231 A. D., to which year the inscriptions of the Ābu temple belong, because those magnificent structures are nowhere referred to in this work. But it was written after 1222 A. D. (V. S. 1278), the date of construction of a niche of Mallinātha on Ābu, which it mentions.²

99. No work of Arisimha, other than the Sukṛtasamkīrtana is extant. From a verse of Amaraśandra in his Kāvyaśālistā (I. 2),³ Bühler thinks that Arisimha must have written another work called the Kavitarāhasya, and that it was a hand-book of poetry.⁴ It is possible, however, to interpret the word Kavitarāhasya in the sense of “the mystery or depth of poetic genius.” It appears that Arisimha was proficient in logic and dialectics, as at one place Amaraśandra has referred to him as “a lion for the elephants in the form of rival dialecticians.”⁵ But we do not know if he wrote any work on the subject.

100. The work of Arisimha leaves no doubt that both he and Amaraśandra belonged to Vastupāla’s circle of poets, which the Prabandhas often mention. Amaraśandra speaks thus in one of his concluding verses—

“Poverty has deserted, in resignation, so completely those men who continually rejoice in praising Vastupāla that she, indolent inspite of the

1 Bühler, IA, Vol. XXXI, p. 480.

2 SS, XI. 34.

3 सारस्वतामृतमहार्णवपूर्णमेन्दोर्मैत्वारिसिंहसुकवेः कवितारहस्यम् ।

किञ्चिच्च तद्रचितमात्मकृतं च किञ्चिद् व्याख्यास्यते त्वरितकाव्यकृतेऽत्र सूत्रम् ॥ (I. 2)

4 Bühler, op. cit., p. 479.

5 SS, I. 45. Also II. 55.

command of the gods, does not even cross the threshold of their neighbours' houses" (II. 53).

It is clear from this that Arisimha and other poets were amply rewarded by Vastupāla for their poetic compositions and that the information regarding Vastupāla's patronage of literature derived from the later Prabandhas contains a good deal of truth. Moreover, we may not put the prime of the poetic career of Arisimha and Amaracandra as late as the reign of Visladeva, but it appears certain that they kept themselves in favour at the court of Dhavalakka even after the death of Viradhavala and their patron Vastupāla.

(vii) Amaracandrasūri

ब्रह्मज्ञप्रवरो महाव्रतधरो वेणीकुपाणोऽमरः ।

—Nayacandrasūri¹

Amaracandra-a Sādhu of the Vāyāḍa gachha

101. Amaracandrasūri is one of the remarkable names in the history of mediaeval Sanskrit literature, and he is best known as the author of the *Bālabhārata* and the *Kāvya-kalpalatā*. Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadattasūri² of the Vāyāḍa gachha of the Śvetāmbara Jaina sect. Vāyāḍa or Vāyāṭiya gachha has derived its name from a place called Vāyāḍa situated 15 miles north-west of Anahilavād. The presiding deity of the place is Vāyu or the wind-god and hence the name of the place; and the Vāyāḍa Banias and Brāhmins of Gujarāt, who are devotees of the wind-god, have originated from Vāyāḍa. It was a custom in the Vāyāḍa gachha that the Ācāryas had only three names,³ viz. Jinadatta, Rās'illa and Jivadeva. Thus Amaracandra's guru was Jinadattā, his pupil was Rās'illa and the pupil of the latter was Jivadeva; and again there came an Ācārya named Jinadatta. Considerable information regarding the antiquity of the Vāyāḍa gachha and the Ācāryas that flourished in that gachha can be had from the 7th chapter of the *Prabhāvakacarita* and also from the *Prasasti* of the *Bālabhārata*.

Possibly a Vāyāḍa Brāhmin before he became a monk

102. Nothing is known about the personal history of Amaracandra before he became a Jaina monk. But it is not impossible that he was a Vāyāḍa Brāhmin, because inspite of the fact that he was a Jaina ascetic he has eulogized

1. Hammira Mahākāvya, XIV. 31.

2. This Jinadattasūri is the same as the preceptor of Arisimha (para 96). He is the author of the *Vivekavilāsa* (circa 1220 A. D.), an encyclopaedic work composed for the instruction of the Jaina layman. Amaracandra says that he had written many other works (BBH, last canto, v. 30), but none of them except this one is extant. For Jinadatta's instruction to Vastupāla, vide PC, p. 101.

3. अमीनिस्त्रिभिरेव श्रीजिनदत्तादिनामभिः ।

सूरयो भूरयोऽभूवस्तत्प्रभावास्तदन्वये ॥ (BBH, last canto, v. 37).

Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto of his *Bālabhārata* and has praised the wind-god, the presiding deity of Vāyaḍa, in the *Pras'asti* of the same work.¹ We also come to know that he had written the *Bālabhārata* at the request of the Brāhmins residing in Vāyaḍa.² The *Hamira Mahākāvya* (14th century A. D.) eulogizes Amaracandra as a *Brahmajña* or knower of Veda, and the *Kāvyakalpalatā* reveals Amaracandra's complete mastery of Brāhmanical learning. Though Amaracandra became a *Jaina Sādhu*, it seems that, he did not abandon his ancestral Brāhmanism in toto. We get some more information about Amaracandra after his initiation into religious order, though even that information is mixed with accounts of strange miracles. It is narrated by the *Prabandhakos'a*³ that Amaracandra, the pupil of *Jinadattasūri*, received the charm called *Sidhhasārasvata* from *Kavirāja Arisimha*. By his chanting of this charm for twentyone days in a secluded part of the mansion of the minister *Padma*, who was a staunch follower of the Vāyaḍa *gachha*, the goddess of learning appeared before him from the disc of the moon at the midnight of the twentyfirst day and gave him the boon that he would be a *Sidhha Kavi* or perfect poet, honoured by all the kings. The *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*⁴ informs that Amaracandra had cured some scholar of a fatal disease, and the latter gave him the charm called the *Sidhhasārasvata*. In any case, we may take it as certain that Amaracandra was initiated in the art of poetic composition by a literary man, in all probability by *Arisimha*, who was obliged by him in some way.

Amaracandra at the court of Visaladeva; Amaracandra and Arisimha

103. The *Prabandhakos'a* notes that after this Amaracandra wrote many works, and became famous as a poet, and was honoured by the king of *Mahārāṣṭra* and other rulers. Hearing of his fame, he was invited by *Visaladeva* to come to his court through the minister *Vajjala*. While entering the court, Amaracandra praised *Visaladeva* with two poetic verses. There the faculty of Amaracandra in extempore poetry was tested, and he was given *Samasyās* by *Somes'vara*, *Somāditya* of *Vāmanasthali*, *Kamalāditya* of *Kṛṣṇanagara*, *Nānāka* and other court-poets, which were readily answered by him in poetic verses. The *Prabandha* says that in this way he answered 108 *Samasyās*, and the assembly was so enchanted that the people sat there till evening and *Visaladeva* accepted Amaracandra as the chief of the poets.⁵ Though Amaracandra attained great literary fame, he always held in high esteem *Arisimha*, his teacher in fine arts; this is clear from the way in which

1 क्विञ्चिद् सञ्चलितेषु वस्तुनि भृशं यत्संभवान्मन्महं विश्वं यन्मयमीश्वरादिमयतास्वप्नमाणेषितम् ।
संसारप्रसरः परस्त्रनुमतां यस्यानुरोधेषु यत्संरोधेषु शिवं स यच्छतु सतां श्रीचारुतां मारुतः ॥

(Ibid, last canto, v. 1)

2 Ibid, last canto, vv. 42-44.

3 PK, p. 61.

4 PPS, p. 78.

5 PK, pp. 62-63.

he speaks about Arisimha in the verses appended to each canto of the Sukṛtasamkirtana. For example—

“Arisimha, a lion for his elephant-like opponents in the field of dialectics, composed this work, which like the glances of the ever-gracious Vastupāla, dispenses rivers of nectar” (I. 45).

“This work, a flood of beams from the moon of the face of Lāvanya-simha's son, which draws off the swarms of bees from those water-lilies, the faces of the unworthy, produces mighty waves in the milk-ocean of fame of the excellent minister Vastupāla” (VIII. 48).

Literary works of Amaracandra

104. Amaracandra was a prolific and versatile writer. His Bālabhārata Mahākāvya, which is a summary in verse of the Mahābhārata, and Kāvyaikalpalatā, a work on rhetoric, are well-known. It is noteworthy that according to the statement of Amaracandra himself,¹ the Kārikās in the Kāvyaikalpalatā are partly composed by Amaracandra and partly by Arisimha. Amaracandra also composed a commentary called the Kaviśikṣā on the Kāvyaikalpalatā. He wrote two other commentaries on the same work, viz. the Kāvyaikalpalatā-Parimala and the Kāvyaikalpalatā-Mañjarī, out of which the Mañjarī is not extant.² Both the commentaries are referred by the author in the Kāvyaikalpalatā.³ Amaracandra wrote a work on poetics, called Alankāraprabodha, which is also mentioned in the said Vṛtti (p. 116), but it is not discovered as yet. Moreover, Amaracandra wrote the Chandoratnāvalī, a work on metrics, and the Syādis'abdasamuccaya, a work on grammar, which has been commented upon by one Jayānanda, of uncertain date. The Prabandhakos'a has mentioned two other works of Amaracandra, which are lost—viz. Sūktāvalī and Kalākalāpa.⁴ The former appears to have been an anthology of verses, while the latter has been called a Śāstra by the Prabandhakos'a, and it is probable that it may be a treatise on various traditional arts, just like the Kalāvīlāsa of Kṣemendra.

Amaracandra's relations with the minister Padma

105. Among the works of Amaracandra, the Padmānanda Mahākāvya or Jinendracarita deserves special mention, because it was written under the auspices of a patron other than Vastupāla. That patron was none else but the minister Padma, whose name has been associated with the said work, and in whose house Amaracandra stayed, while chanting the Sidhhasārasvata charm, as stated in the Prabandha (para 102). Amaracandra has given a good deal of information about Padma in the Prasasti of the Padmānanda, from which we can gather many things about an aristocratic family of Anahila-

1 p. 63, fn. 3.

2 Śubhaviṇaya has written a commentary, Makaranda, on the Kāvyaikalpalatā in 1609 A. D. (JRK, p. 89).

3 KKL, pp. 19, 28, 63, 67. Also vide Kapadia, Padmānanda Mahākāvya, intro., pp. 28 and 42; and JSI, p. 378.

4 PK, p. 62.

vād, which was very fond of learning and literature. Padma was born in a Vāyadā Vanik family, and Amaracandra begins his genealogy from a man named Vāsupūjya, who was a minister. Padma had received his Śrīkaraṇa-mudrā or ministerial seal from Visaladeva. His younger brother Malladeva has been also mentioned as minister; he may be among the councillors of Visaladeva, and may have attained the prime-ministership during the time of his successor Arjunadeva, because according to the inscriptions, Arjunadeva's Mahāmātya was one Māladeva.¹ Padma was not only an adept in politics but was also a poet, who praised the Tirthaṅkara by composing new hymns. A dialectical contest was held before him between Amaracandra and a paṇḍita named Gauragūṇa, and he gave Jayapatra or certificate of victory and the title of Brahmendu to Amaracandra in recognition of his victory. Amaracandra wrote his poem, Padmānanda Mahākāvya, at the request of this gentleman. Belonging originally to the same place, that is Vāyada, and being the followers of the same gachha, these two persons—one a layman, and the other a monk—were on very intimate terms, and it is no wonder if Amaracandra had got from Padma much help and encouragement in his literary Pursuits, as he had got from Vastupāla. The Padmānanda Mahākāvya, has for its subject the life of the first Tirthaṅkara Ādinātha, and hence it is also known as the Jinendracarita. Amaracandra has written another shorter work delineating the life of all the 24 Tirthaṅkaras, which is entitled as the Caturvims'ati-Jinendra-saṁkṣipta-caritāni.

Chronology of Amaracandra's works

106. Nothing definite can be said regarding the chronology of Amaracandra's works, because none of them bears the date of its composition. There is not much of internal evidence to throw light on the point. We can only say that the Kāvyaikalpalatā-mañjarī, Kāvyaikalpalatā-parimala, Alamkāra-prabodha and Chandoratnāvali were composed before the Kāvyaikalpalatā-vṛtti, because all of them are mentioned in the latter work.² Moreover, it may be inferred from the nomenclature of the commentaries that the Mañjarī ('sprout') was the first one to be written, and was followed by the Parimala ('fragrance'). The Padmānanda Mahākāvya was composed between 1238 (date of Visaladeva's accession) and 1241 A. D. (=1297 V. S., date of the Cambay ms.),³ as it cannot be earlier than the date of Visaladeva's accession, because Visaladeva has been mentioned in its Praśasti as the king; and in the same way, it cannot be later than 1241 A. D., the date of its copy. From a reference in the Caturvims'ati-Jinendra-Saṁkṣipta-caritāni by Amaracandra,⁴ it can be seen that the composition of the shorter work preceded that of the Padmānanda Mahākāvya.

1 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 206.

2 For reference to the Chandoratnāvali, vide KKL, p. 6.

3 Bühler, IA, Vol. XXXI, p. 480.

4 पूर्व श्रीवृषभादीनामहंतां चरितानि ते । पुरः श्रीपद्म संक्षेपाद् वक्ष्ये विस्तरतस्ततः ॥

107. Some verses ascribed to Amaracandra are preserved in the Prabandhas. On the occasion of one of Vastupāla's Saṅghayātrās, Amaracandra was dozing, and hence the former just taunted him, but Amaracandra explained the reason of his sleepiness by way of a poetic verse, in which he described Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī conversing about the splendour of the pilgrim-caravan.¹ And Vastupāla put the lion-seat of Amaracandra first among all the poets. Another verse has been noted in the Upadeśataraṅgiṇī. Once Vastupāla was going to attend the sermon of Amaracandra, but while at the door of the hall he heard the Ācārya uttering the following line—

अस्मिन्नसारे संसारे सारं सारद्वलोचना ।

And Vastupāla, thinking that the Ācārya's mind was full with thoughts about women, did not salute him. Then the Ācārya recited the second foot of the verse—

यत्कुक्षिप्रभवा एते वस्तुपाल भवादृशाः ॥

And being astonished, Vastupāla saluted him with honour.²

Amaracandra, nick-named as Venī-kṛpāṇa

108. Just as Kālidāsa is nick-named in Sanskrit literature as Dīpaśikhā--Kālidāsa, Māgha as Ghaṇṭā--Māgha and Harṣa as Anaṅga--Harṣa, Amaracandra is known as Venīkṛpāṇa (PK, p. 62), because in a beautiful verse in the Bālabhārata he has compared the braid of hair of a young woman with the sword of the god of love.³

Image of Amaracandra installed in a temple

109. There is an image of Amaracandra installed in a Jaina temple at Anahilavād in V. S. 1349 (=1293 A. D.) by a person named Madanacandra, who was a disciple of Paṇḍita Mahendra.⁴ It speaks of the eminent position that Amaracandra held in the field of scholarship and literature and also in the field of jaina religion, that though he was not the head even of his own Gachha, his image was installed and worshipped in a Jaina temple not long after his death.

1 लक्ष्मि प्रेयसि० (VC, VI. 90). The PPS (p. 62) has ascribed this verse to Naracandrācārya.

2 UT, p. 74. The PK (pp. 109-11) and VC (IV. 485 ff.) ascribe this incident to Malla Vādin, head of the Stambhana Pārśvanātha Caitya at Stambhatirtha, while the PPS (p. 76) ascribes it to Bālahamsasūri of the Suvrataswāmi Caitya at Bṛgukachha. But we must bear in mind that Malla Vādin had lived during the Valabhī age (para 8) and that Vīrasūri and his pupil Jayasīrhasūri were the heads of the Muni Suvrata Caitya in the time of Vastupāla (para 126), and hence the account given in the UT seems to be more reliable.

3 Ādiparvan, XI. 6. For a verse having similar idea, vide the Ādiparvan, III. 63.

4 PJLS, no. 523.

(viii) Vijayasenasūri

जीयाद् विजयसेनस्य प्रभोः प्रातिभदर्पणः । प्रतिविम्बितमात्मानं यत्र पश्यति भारती ॥

—Udayaprabhasūri¹

मुनेर्विजयसेनस्य सुधामधुरया गिरा । भारतीमद्भुमञ्जीरस्वरोऽपि परवीकृतः ॥

—Someśvara²

Vijayasenasūri : Vastupāla's family-preceptor

110. Vijayasenasūri was the Ācārya of the Nāgendra gachha, and Vastupāla's preceptor on the paternal side, and as such, the installation-ceremony of the images in the temples built by Vastupāla was performed at his hands. It was the advice and instruction of Vijayasena which inspired the building of temples, establishment of the Bhāṇḍāras, and the undertaking of Saṅghayātrās by Vastupāla and Tejapāla.³

Genealogy of the Nāgendra Gachha

111. Udayaprabhasūri, the chief disciple of Vijayasena, has given the genealogy of the teachers of the Nāgendra gachha in the Praśasti of his Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya, and also at the end of his commentary on the Upadeśamālā: Udayaprabha begins the genealogy from an Ācārya named Mahendrasūri, who was a great scholar of the Āgamas and also highly proficient in logic. His pupil was Śāntisūri, who had vanquished the Digambaras with the power of his knowledge. His two disciples were Ānandasūri and Amaracandrasūri, like the two tusks of the elephant in the form of religion. They were like the Mandara mountain for the unfathomable ocean of literature, and vanquished the rival dialecticians even in childhood, and hence they were called "the young ones of the tiger and the lion" (Vyāghra-simha-sīśukau) by the king Sidhharāja. Then came Haribhadrāsūri, who was known as the Kalikālagautama on account of his merits. His pupil was Vijayasenasūri, 'whose speech is like the rainy waters able to extinguish the fire of worldly existence.' We also know from the Praśasti that when in Anahilavād, Vijayasena always used to deliver his sermon in the temple of the Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha, supposed to have been built by Vanarāja, the founder of the city.

Intimate relations of Vijayasena with Vastupāla's family

112. Vijayasena's relations with the family of Vastupāla were naturally very cordial, he being a Kulaguru or family-preceptor. A characteristic incident showing this intimacy has been described by Merutuṅga. He says, "Anupamādevī (Tejapāla's wife) having died, the knot of grief swelled up in Tejapāla, and could not be removed. Then Ācārya Vijayasena came there and assuaged his sorrow, and when Tejapāla had partially recovered his self-command, he became a little ashamed of himself and was thus addressed by the Ācārya, 'we have come to see this fraud of yours.' Vastupāla asked

1 DHA, I. 14.

2 KK, I. 23.

3 VC, V. 420 ff; VI. 63 ff and 613 ff; VII. 333 ff; VIII. 1 ff.

the reverend teacher what this meant. He said, 'when Tejapāla was a boy, I asked for him from Dharaniga the hand of the maiden Anupamā in marriage, and the arrangement was then concluded. Afterwards he heard of the lack of beauty of the maiden, and in order to break off the engagement, he offered the Ksetrapāla in the shrine of Jina Candraprabha, eatables and other things worth eight drammas. Now he is despondent on account of the pain of separation from her; of these two sides on which lies the truth?' When Tejapāla was thus reminded of the original state of affairs, he made his heart firm."¹

Vijayasena-a scholar and a poet

113. It was at the instance of Vijayasena that Vastupāla had gone to salute Jagaccandrasūri of the Vṛdhha Tapā gachha² and had honoured him and his pupils. Vijayasena was a scholar. Pradyumnasūri, the author of the Samarāditya-saṃkṣepa (1268 A. D.), was taught Nyāya by him,³ and he had also revised the Vivekamañjarī-Tīkā of Bālacandra.⁴ A verse in praise of Vastupāla has been ascribed to Vijayasena by the Upadeśa-taraṅgiṇī (p. 76. देव स्वनाथ कष्टं), but we cannot take the ascription as authentic, because the same is found as the seventh verse of the metrical portion of the Gīrnār inscription by Narendraprabha (PJLS, no. 4-4; HIG, no. 210) and also as the 27th verse of the second Vastupālapraśasti of the same author.⁵ No other Sanskrit composition of Vijayasena has been found as yet, but judging from the way in which his poetic faculty has been referred to by the contemporary authors, it is probable that he may have composed some Sanskrit poetic works worthy of note. We have an Aphaṛṇśa work, the Revantagiri Rāsu, from his pen. It was composed on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's pilgrimages to Gīrnār.

Death of Vijayasena

114. According to the colophon of a manuscript of the Pinḍaniryukti in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Chāṇī, near Baroda, Vijayasenasūri died in 1301 V. S. (1245 A. D.).⁶ The manuscript appears to have been copied down by a Sādhu of the Nāgendra Gachha, as the colophon gives a metrical genealogy of the teachers of the same Gachha, beginning from Mahendrasūri, and hence the date given in it may be considered reliable.

1 The translation is quoted from Tawny (p. 167) with a few emendations here and there. Also vide the PC (Skt.), pp. 104-5.

2 VC, VIII. 31 ff. It may be noted here that Vijayacandrasūri, the pupil of Jagaccandrasūri, was an accountant in the house of Vastupāla before he became an ascetic (Gurvāvali of Munisundarasūri, vv. 122-25).

3 Samarāditya-Saṃkṣepa, I. 24.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 100.

5 In the PK (p. 59) the same verse has been ascribed to Harihara and in the VC (V. 403) to some anonymous poet.

6 इन्द्राग्निविश्वेसख्यवत्सरे ज्येष्ठकृष्णनवमीतिथौ निशि। स्वःपुरीमल्लकारु(र)हैतां ध्यानंतो विजयसेनसूरयः॥

(ix) Udayaprabhasūri

पुरोस्तस्याशिषां पात्रं सूरिरस्त्युदयप्रभः । मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भान्ति यत्प्रतिभाम्बुधेः ॥

—Someśvara¹

Udayaprabha—junior in age to Vastupāla

115. Udayaprabhasūri was the chief pupil of Vijayasenasūri. It appears that he was considerably junior in age to Vastupāla, as Vastupāla had invited well-known scholars from long distance for teaching Udayaprabha various Śāstras.² Vastupāla also organised the function to install Udayaprabha as an Ācārya at a large expense.³

Literary works of Udayaprabha; he is different from Udayaprabha, author of the Tīpṇaṣas on three Karmagranthas, etc.

116. The main literary work of Udayaprabhasūri is his Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya or Saṃghapaticaritra, which was probably composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's great pilgrimage in 1221 A. D., though the author has not mentioned the date of composition or has not expressly referred to any particular yātrā. In any case, it must have been composed before 1234 A. D. (= 1290 V. S.), because a manuscript of the work bearing that date, in Vastupāla's own handwriting, has been preserved in the jaina Bhāṇḍār at Cambay. The Nemināthacarita of Udayaprabha (JRK, p. 217; JSI, p. 386) is not a separate work, but it is only a part of his Dharmābhyudaya (cantos 10–14). This statement is corroborated by the fact that the Granthāgra of the Nemināthacarita has been given as 2100 ślokas (JRK, p. 217), and that of the above-mentioned five cantos in the Dharmābhyudaya is 2142 ślokas, which can be considered almost equal, if we make allowance for the difference of a few verses here and there, owing to discrepancies at the hands of the copyists. Among other works of Udayaprabha there are two panegyrics called the Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī and Vastupālastuti, glorifying the good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. The former work was composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's Saṃghayātrā in 1221 A. D., and was inscribed on a slab in the Indramandapa built by him on Śatruñjaya.⁴ Udayaprabha also wrote in 1243 A. D. (1299 V. S.) an exhaustive commentary called the Karpikā on the Upadeśamālā, the famous Prākṛit Prakaraṇa by Dharmadāsa Gaṇi (before the 9th century), while staying in the Upāśrayā built by Vastupāla at Dhavalakka.⁵ The commentary was composed, as mentioned in the Prasasti, at the suggestion of Vijayasenasūri, the author's Guru, and the first copy of the same was made by a scholar named Devabodha. It was revised by Pradyumnasūri, pupil of Kanakaprabha and the author of the Samarāditya-

1 Abu Prasasti, v. 71.

2 PPS, p. 64.

3 VC, VII. 60–61.

4 SKK, vv. 165–67.

5 सेयं पुरे षवलके नृपवीरवीरमन्त्रीशपुण्यवसतौ वसतौ वसन्निः ।

वर्षे ग्रह-ग्रह-रवौ कृतभार्कसंख्यैः श्लोकैर्विशेषविवृतिर्विहिताऽद्भुतश्रीः ॥

—Karpikā, Prasasti

saṁkṣepa. The scholarship of Udayaprabha is noticed in other fields too. He composed the Ārambhasidhhi, a well-known work on astrology. A fragmentary work, only 47 verses of which have been preserved on a palm-leaf manuscript in the Khetaravasi Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ, is a composition of Udayaprabha, and the name of the work is probably Śabdabrahmollāsa, as can be inferred from the second verse (प्रभोदप्रमः शब्दब्रह्मोल्लासः प्रकाशताम् ।). The extant verses are mostly for the Maṅgala purposes, and it is difficult to say anything definitely about the subject-matter of the work. Perhaps it may have been a treatise on the philosophy of grammar, as the title suggests. Verses in a Gīrnār inscription of Vastupāla are composed by Udayaprabha.¹ A 19-verse Praśasti of a Pauśadhaśālā built by Vastupāla in Stambhatīrtha in 1225 A. D. (1281 V. S.) was written by Udayaprabha,² and the Prabandhas ascribe to him a few Sanskrit verses.³ It may be noted here that Malliṣeṇa, the author of the Syādvādamañjarī (1292 A. D.), the famous work on Jaina philosophy, which is a commentary on the Anyayogavyavachhedadvātrīṁśikā of Hemacandra, was a pupil of Udayaprabhasūri (JRK, p. 12; Peterson, Report IV, p. 125). Udayaprabha, who wrote a commentary on the Pravacanasāroddhārā of Nemicaṇḍra,⁴ and also Tīppaṇas on three Karmagranthas, viz. the Karmavipāka, Karmastava and Śataka, was a pupil of Raviprabhasūri,⁵ and hence different from our Udayaprabha. This other Udayaprabha is older than our Udayaprabha, and lived in the 12th century A. D.⁶

(x) Jinabhadra

117. Jinabhadra was a pupil of Udayaprabhasūri. No more information is available about him, but this much we know that he had composed a Prabandhāvalī or a collection of historical and legendary anecdotes, which contained a number of stories, for the reading of Jayatasīmha, Vastupāla's son, in 1234 A. D. (=1290 V. S.).⁷ Though the work has come down in a form which cannot be called complete and also contains some interpolations (para 234), it is an important source-book for the history of Gujarāt, and as such, has been included by Jinavijayaji in that collection of the Prabandhas, called the Purātanaprabandha-saṁgraha.

1 HIG, no. 212; PJLS, no. 43-6.

2 Annals, vol. IX, p. 177.

3 PPS, p. 71; UT, P. 142.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 262; JRK, p. 272.

5 Vide at the end of the Tīppaṇa on the Śataka—

स्वपरसमयज्ञानप्रीतिप्रहृष्टजगज्जनाश्चतुरवचनामोदयुष्टमरेशगुरुभ्राताः ।

अभिनुपसमं गंगागौरप्रनतितकीर्त्यस्तदनु महसः पात्रं याता रविप्रमचरयः ॥

तच्छिष्यः स्वपरकृते श्रीशतकस्य दिप्पनम् । श्रीउदयप्रमचरिश्चकार शुभमङ्गलम् ॥

Verses to the same purport are also to be seen at the end of the Tīppaṇas on the Karmavipāka and Karmastava (vide ms. no. 2173 in the Pravartaka Kāntivijayaji Śāstrasamgraha, Baroda).

6 JSI, p. 25.

7 PPS, p. 136.

(xi) Naracandrasūri

नरचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रस्य विश्वविद्यानयं महः। चतुरन्तपरित्रीशसन्धैरस्यचित्तं स्तुतः॥

—Udayaprabhasūri¹

कवीन्द्रश्च मुनीन्द्रश्च नरचन्द्रो जयत्यसौ। प्रशस्तिर्यस्य काव्येषु संक्रान्ता हृदयादिव ॥

—Someśvara²

Naracandra- Vastupāla's Guru on the maternal side

118. Naracandrasūri was a pupil of Devaprabhasūri³ of the Harsapuriya or Maladhāra gachha. He was the preceptor of Vastupāla on the maternal side,⁴ and was in close contact with Vijayasenasūri and his pupils. Vastupāla held him in high honour, and he had taught Vastupāla the three Vidyās, i. e. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya, and also the jaina works—Śaḍāvaśyaka and Karmaṇaprakṛti.⁵ On the occasion of one of his Saṃghayātṛas, Vastupāla requested Naracandra to perform the Vāsakṣepa ceremony, but Naracandra with a high sense of propriety, declined to do so, and at his suggestion Vastupāla called Vijayasena and Udayaprabha, his preceptors on the paternal side, from a place called Pilupadra or Piluāi (probably modern Pilu, a few miles from Hanumāngadh in the Bikāner State) in Mārvaḍ.⁶ He accompanied Vastupāla in a number of his pilgrimages.

Literary works of Naracandra

119. Naracandrasūri was a great scholar, and highly proficient at least in four śāstras—viz. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Sāhitya and Jyotiṣ. In Nyāya he has written a scholarly Ṭippaṇa or gloss on the Nyāyakaṇḍali of Śrīdhara, in Vyākaraṇa the Prākṛtaprabodha, a treatise on the Prākṛit grammar, in Sāhitya a Ṭippaṇa on the Anargharāghava of Murāri,⁷ and in Jyotiṣ the Jyotiṣsāra or Nāracandra jyotiṣsāra—more briefly known as the Nāracandra, perhaps the most popular work

1 DHA, I. 13.

2 KK, I. 22.

3 Devaprabhasūri was the author of the Pāṇḍavacarita, a Jaina poetical version of the Mahābhārata, a commentary on the Anargharāghava Nāṭaka of Murāri, and several other works. The Prabandhas state that he gave religious sermons citing the authority of the Brāhmin Śāstras, and hearing him, king Vīradhavaḷa had abandoned hunting, and also partaking of meat and liquor (VC, V. 348 ff; PK, p. 113). Jagaccandrasūri was guided by Devaprabha in the interpretation of the Jaina Āgamas (VC, VII. 320.).

4 VC, I. 92; PK, p. 113.

5 PK, p. 113.

6 VC, V. 420; PK, p. 113.

7 Naracandra was helped by one Vimalasūri in the writing of this Ṭippaṇa; see the last verse of the Prasasti—

शब्दप्रमाणसाहित्यत्रिवेणीसङ्गमश्रियाम् । श्रीमद्विमलसूरीणामिदमुद्यमवैभवम् ॥

of Jaina astrology.¹ Unfortunately, only two chapters of the *Jyotiḥsāra* are extant and as one *Sāgaracandra*, of uncertain date, has commented only upon these two chapters, it can be said that the complete text was not available even to him. It was in order to satisfy the eagerness of *Vastupāla* to hear the narratives pertaining to Jaina religion that *Naracandraśūri* composed his *Kathāratnākara* or *Kathāratna-sāgara*, containing a number of *Dharmakathās*.² Peterson has taken notice of a manuscript of the *Carturvimśati—Jina—Stotra* of *Naracandra* in the *Paṭaṇ Bhāṇḍār*,³ but I could not trace the manuscript in any of the *Bhāṇḍāras* in the said place. A hymn called the *Sarva-Jina-Sādhāraṇa-Stavana* of *Naracandra* has been included in the *Jain Stotra Sandoha* (pp. 20-22), and presumably this may be identical with the hymn noted by Peterson. *Naracandra* also wrote metrical portion of two of the *Girnār* inscriptions of *Vastupāla*⁴ and also a panegyric called the *Vastupālapraśasti*. We also know that *Naracandra* had revised the *Pāṇḍavacarita* of his own *Guru Devaprabhāśūri*, and the *Dharmābhyudaya* of *Udayaprabhāśūri*, as is mentioned at the end of both these works. Moreover, he had given lessons in the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* to *Pradyumnaśūri*,⁵ whom I have already referred to (para 113 and 116). Several verses ascribed to *Naracandra* have

1 cf. *Rājasekharasūri* on *Naracandra* in his *Nyāyakandali Pañjikā* (circa 1349 A. D.)—

दिप्पनमनर्वराधवशास्त्रे किल दिप्पनं च कन्दल्याम् । सारं ज्योतिषमदृग्मयः प्राकृतदीपिकामपि च ॥

—Peterson, Report III, p. 275.

It may be noted here that *Naracandra*, who wrote *Praśnaśataka* (1178 A.D.), *Jyotiḥ-caturvimśikā* and *Janmasamudra*, was a *Sādhu* of the *Kāsahrada gachha* and a pupil of *Simhasūri*, and hence different from our *Naracandra*. Vide the colophon of the *Praśnaśataka*—

इति श्रीकासहृद्गच्छीयश्रीसिंहसूरिशिष्यश्रीनरचन्द्रोपाध्यायकृतायां ज्ञानदीपिकासंज्ञायां प्रश्नशतकवृत्तौ वृत्तिवेडालपुत्रमगिन्यां वृष्टिवात्तदीपप्रकीर्णकफललक्ष्णो नाम सप्तमः प्रकाशः ॥ छ ॥ ज्ञानदीपिकानामवृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ जन्मप्रकाशं कवितत्त्वलेखं प्रश्नप्रकाशं नरचन्द्रनामा । योऽध्यापकः प्रश्नशतं स चक्रे कासहृदो जन्मसमुद्रवृत्तिः ॥

(ms. no. 2164, collection of *Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijayaji*, Baroda)

Colophon of the *Jyotiḥ-caturvimśikā*—

श्रीकासहृद्गच्छोपेडुर्दगिरिन्धस्तादिनाथः पुत्रा चैकाकी नवमासकल्पविकृतिः श्रीसिंहसूरिप्रभुः । तन्नामप्रतिमाभिधो गुरुरभूद् गोत्रेऽस्य शिष्यः श्रुतस्तेनायं चतुरार्थमर्थैवहुला चक्रे चतुर्विंशतिः ॥ इति नरचन्द्रोपाध्यायकृता चतुर्विंशतिका संपूर्णा ॥ छ ॥

(ms. no. 5101, *Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna Mandira*, *Paṭaṇ*)

2 अन्येषुर्भक्तितो मौलौ निधाय करकुड्मलम् । तेन विज्ञपितः श्रीमान् नरचन्द्रमुनीश्वरः ॥

युष्माभिः स्वकराम्बुजस्य शिरसि न्यस्तस्य माहात्म्यतः प्राप्तं जन्मजितोऽपि दुर्लभतरं संवाधिपत्यं मया ।

धर्मस्यानशतानि दानविषयस्ते ते च सन्तेनिरे चेतः सम्प्रति जैनशासनकथाः श्रोतुं समुत्कण्ठये ॥

इत्यर्थ्यनया चक्रुर्वस्तुपालस्य मन्त्रिणः । नरचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रास्ते श्रीकथारत्नसागरम् ॥

—*Kathāratnākara*, I. 8-10.

3 Peterson, Report V, p. 96.

4 HIG, nos. 208 and 211; PJLS, nos. 39-2 and 42-5.

5 *Samarāditya-Saṃkṣepa*, I. 23.

been preserved in the Prabandhas.¹ The account of the consolation that he gave to Vastupāla when the latter wept on seeing the image of his mother on Śatruñjaya is most touching, and also significant from the historical point of view, because it refers to a similar incident in the case of Sidhharāja Jayasimha.²

Date of Naracandra's death

120. According to the Prabandhakosa, Naracandrasūri died on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada in V. S. 1287 (= 1231 A. D.).³ The Prabandha notes that some time before his death, he prophesied the year of Vastupāla's demise.⁴

(xii) Narendraprabhasūri

तस्य गुरोः प्रियशिष्यः प्रमुनेरेन्द्रप्रभः प्रभावाढ्यः । योऽलंकारमहोदधिं करोत् काकुत्स्थकैलिं च ॥

—Rājasekharasūri⁵

Composition of the Alamkāramahodadhi at Vastupāla's request

121. "Once Vastupāla, folding his hands with devotion, thus requested Naracandrasūri— 'Some works on Alamkāra are difficult to grasp, because they are lengthy, while some are not sufficiently clear, as they are too short. Some other books contain much that is irrelevant and can be understood with difficulty. My mind is tired of listening to such works, which give no judgment regarding the real nature of poetic art. So please expound to me a Śāstra, which is not too long, which contains the essence of poetic art and can be understood even by the less intelligent.' Hearing this, the Ācārya suggested to his pupil Narendraprabhasūri to write such a work, and the latter composed the Alamkāramahodadhi—kārikās and the vṛtti thereon—for the delectation of Vastupāla.⁶ It was written, according to the author's own statement, in V. S. 1282 (= 1226 A.D.).

Other works of Narendraprabha

122. It appears that in addition to the Alamkāramahodadhi, Narendraprabha had composed a work called the Kākutsthakeli, as can be inferred from the verse of Rājasekharasūri, quoted above from the Nyāyakandalī-pañjikā. From the list of an old Bhāṇḍāra⁷ we come to know that the Kākutsthakeli was a drama, the Granthamāna or

1 PPS, p. 69; PK, p. 115; VC, VI. 75, 372; UT, p. 73.

2 PK, p. 115; VC, VI. 468 ff.

3 PK, p. 127.

4 VC, VIII. 440-42.

5 Praśasti of the Nyāyakandalī-Pañjikā, quoted by Peterson, Report III, p. 275.

6 AM, p. 3.

7 PT, Vol. II, p. 426.

Granthāgra¹ of which was 1500 Ślokas. The list does not throw any light on the subject-matter of the play, but it may be assumed from the title that its theme may have something to do with the history of Rāma, a favourite subject with the Sanskrit play-wrights. No manuscript of the said work has been found as yet. Narendraprabhasūri has written two panegyrics of Vastupāla, known as the Vastupālapraśasti—one of 104, and the other of 37 verses. Probably, the longer Praśasti was composed on Śatruñjaya on the occasion of one of the Saṁghayātrās of Vastupāla, as is evident from the manner in which the author refers to that mountain(अत्रैव शैले रचयांचकार मनोद्विमाखण्डलमण्डपं यः० v. 78; अत्रैव शत्रुञ्जयशैलमौलौ० v.82). There is also additional evidence in the fact that verses 77 to 98 are devoted to the enumeration of public and pious works of Vastupāla during the pilgrimage. In the same way, one may be justified in assuming that the shorter Vastupālapraśasti may have been composed at the commencement of the aforesaid Saṁghayātrā, as in the last verse it refers to the commencement of the pilgrimage, but does not give any more details, the rest of the poem being devoted to the conventional praise of the ministers. Thus we may believe that Narendraprabha accompanied the pilgrim-caravan; and wrote his two panegyrics—the shorter one at the commencement of the pilgrimage and the longer one at the time of its completion on Śatruñjaya. Moreover, verses in a Gīrnār inscription of Vastupāla are composed by Narendraprabha.² He also wrote two collections of verses on religious topics—Vivekapaḍapa and Vivekakalikā—from which we know that he bore the pen-name Vibudhacandra Kavi.³

(xiii) Bālacandra

वाग्बह्वीदलदस्त्रवः कति न ते सन्त्याखुतुल्योपमाः सत्योल्लेखमुषः स्वकोष्ठपिठरीसम्पूतिधावद्वियः ।
सोऽन्यः कोऽपि विदर्भरीतिवल्गवान् बालेन्दुसुरिः पुरो यस्य स्वर्गिपुरोहितोऽपि न गवां पौरोगवस्तादृशः ॥

—Aparājita Kavi⁴

बहुप्रबन्धकर्तुः श्रीबालचन्द्रस्य का स्तुतिः । मन्त्रीशवस्तुपालेन यः स्तुतः कवितागुणात् ॥

—Pradyumnasūri⁵

Genealogy of Bālacandra's teachers

123. Bālacandra was a pupil of Haribhadrasūri of the Candra Gachha. He has given at length the genealogy of his teachers in the Praśastis of his commentaries on the Upadeśakandali and Vivekamañjarī

1 It is well-known that this device of Granthāgra has been used, mostly by Jaina writers and copyists, to indicate the extent of literary works. The Anuṣṭup is taken as a unit, and the number of the ślokas of the work—which may be in verse or prose or in both—is calculated by considering 32 syllables as equal to one śloka.

2 HIG, no. 210; PJLS, no. 41-4.

3 PBC, pp. 187 f.

4 This verse has been found written at the end of a manuscript of the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya of Bālacandra, in the Pāṭaṇ Bhāṇḍār (VV, p. 79). Nothing is known about the date or personal history of Aparājita Kavi, its author.

5 Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa, I. 26.

of Āsaḍa (PBC, pp. 329-33; VMT, pp. 215 ff.): In the Candra Gachha there flourished an Ācārya named Pradyumnasūri, who gave religious instruction to the king of Talavāṭaka (modern Talavāḍā, situated 8 miles west of Bānsvāḍā iu Rājasthān). Candraprabhasūri, who succeeded him, composed a morning hymn to jina. After him came Dhaneśvarasūri, who got a Mantra from his Guru, and initiated to right understanding the goddess of Samayupura (modern Samau, near Pāṭaṇ). He had four pupils—Vīrabhadra, Devasūri, Devabhadra and Devendrasūri, like four hands of Sarasvatī. Devendrasūri was staying at Maṇḍali and he performed the installation ceremony of the image in a temple of Mahavīra in that city. His successor was Bhadreśvarasūri, and after him came Abhayadevasūri who vanquished many disputants. The poet Āsaḍa drank the nectar of instruction of Abhayadevasūri,¹ and then composed his two works—Vivekamañjarī and Upadeśakandali. His pupil was Haribhadra, well-versed in six schools of philosophy and literature, and the Guru of our author.

Bālacandra's Personal history and his contact with Vastupāla

124. In the first canto of his Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya, Bālacandra has given some account of his life, prior to his becoming a Jaina ascetic: In the town of Moḍheraka (modern Moḍherā near Pāṭaṇ) there was a famous Brāhmin named Dharādeva. He was well-acquainted with jainism. He was a wealthy man, and supplicants coming to his house always returned with their hands full with money. The name of his wife was Vidyut. They had a son named Muñjāla, who though living with his parents, looked on the world as an illusion. Being instructed and enlightened by Haribhadrasūri, he became a Jaina ascetic with the permission of his parents, and was named Bālacandra. When Haribhadra found that his end was near, he installed Bālacandra in his place. Bālacandra was tutored by Padmāditya, who was a great scholar and adored by the Caulukya kings. Udayasūri of the gachha of Vādī Devasūri gave him the Sārasvata charm. Once, when Bālacandra was in Yoganidrā or contemplative trance, the Goddess Sarasvatī appeared to him, and told him that she was pleased with his devotion, and that he was just her child like Kālidāsa and other poets. And the poet says that being thus blessed by the goddess of learning he became bold enough to sing the fame of Vastupāla. The Prabandhas mention that once young Bālacandra praised Vastupāla with a verse (गौरी रागवती त्वत्वि०), comparing him with God Śiva in every respect;² and Vastupāla, being pleased with it, spent several thousand drammas in the ceremony for installing Bālacandra as an Ācārya.

Literary works of Bālacandra

125. The main work of Bālacandra is his Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya, depicting the life of Vasantapāla, a name given to Vastupāla by his poet-friends

1 It may be mentioned here that this Abhayadevasūri is different from Abhayadevasūri, the famous commentator of the Jaina Āgama (para 20).

2 PC, p. 103; VC, VII. 118-20; UT, p. 73. The same verse with some alteration has been given by Bālacandra in praise of Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, at the end of the third canto of the Vasantavilāsa.

(para 63). It was written at the request of the latter's son Jaitrasimha. The author has not given the date of composition, but as it mentions the death of Vastupāla in 1240 A. D. (1296 V. S.), it must have been written after that year. Karuṇāvajrāyudha is a one-act play of Bālacandra, which was acted on Śatruñjaya in the temple of Ādinātha, for the entertainment of the pilgrims on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's Saṁghayātrās, as mentioned in the prologue. Some scholars think that this was the famous Saṁghayātrā of 1221 A. D.¹ Two other works of Bālacandra are his commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and the Upadeśakandali, two Prakaraṇas in Prākṛit giving Jaina religious instruction, by Āsaḍa of the Śrīmālī community, who was given the title of Kavi-sabhā-śṛṅgāra by the courtiers of the Caulukya king, as stated in the Praśastis of both the commentaries. The commentary on the former work was revised by Vijayasenaśūri of the Nāgendra gachha and Padmaśūri of the Bṛhad gachha. It bears no date, but it must have been composed before 1245 A. D., the year of Vijayasena's death (para 114). The commentary on the latter work is also without date, but as a palm-leaf manuscript of the same in the Pāṭaṇ Bhāṇḍāra is copied down in 1296 V. S. (1240 A. D.),² it must have been composed before that year. Both the commentaries were written at the request of Jaitrasimha, the younger son of Āsaḍa, the author of the original works. We also know from the Praśastis of both the commentaries that as the family of Jaitrasimha followed the Candra gachha, Bālacandra was his Kulaguru, 'family-preceptor', and that he was a spiritual son (Dharmaja) of a nun named Ratnaśrī. Pradyumnaśūri of the same gachha, who considered Bālacandra his elder brother,³ helped him in writing both the commentaries.⁴ It seems that Bālacandra had also written a work called the Gaṇadharāvalī, giving the genealogy of Jaina teachers, as is suggested by the title; he refers to it as his own composition in his commentary on the Vivekamañjarī.⁵ The work is not discovered as yet.

(xiv) Jayasimhaśūri

Hamīramadamardana and Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti

126. Jayasimhaśūri was a pupil of Virasūri and head of the Muni Suvrata Caitya of Bṛgukachha. He is the author of the play Hamīramadamardana, dramatizing Vastupāla's strategy in repulsing a Muslim attack on Gujārāt. The play was acted at Stambhatīrtha at the instance of Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, the then governor of that city. It must have been composed between 1223 A.D. (= 1279 V.S.),⁶ the date of the beginning of Jayantasimha's governorship and the date of the Jesalmer palm-leaf manuscript, which was copied down in 1230 A.D. (= 1286 V.S.).⁷ Another composition of Jayasimha-

1 JSI, p. 384.

2 PBC, p. 333.

3 Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa, Praśasti, v. 4.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 100. Also VMT Praśati, v. 14.

5 यदुक्तस्माभिर्गणधरावल्यम्—VMT, pp. 5, 50.

6 Vide the Gīrnār inscriptions of Vastupāla.

7 HMM, intro., p. 1; JBC, p. 23.

sūri is a panegyric in 77 verses called the Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti. The occasion of its composition was as follows—Once Tejapāla had been on a pilgrimage to the Muni Suvrata Caitya, when the author requested him to provide 25 Devakulikās or small shrines in the temple Śakunikāvihāra, built by minister Āmbaḍa, with golden flag-staffs. Tejapāla agreed to it with the consent of Vastupāla, and erected the staffs;¹ and Jayasimhasūri composed the Praśasti to commemorate the occasion. It appears from the form of the Praśasti that it must have been inscribed on a slab in the walls of the temple. But the Śakunikāvihāra was turned into a mosque and the slab destroyed, but the Praśasti has come down to us in the manuscript-form. It is difficult to assign an exact date to the Praśasti.

This Jayasimhasūri different from the author of the Kumārapālacarita and Dharmopades'amālā

127. It may be noted here that This Jayasimhasūri is different from Jayasimhasūri of the Kṛṣṇa Gachha, author of the Kumārapālacarita Mahākāvya (1366 A.D.), and of the Nyāyatātparya Dīpikā, a commentary on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña, and also different from an older Jayasimhasūri, pupil of Kṛṣṇa, who wrote Dharmopades'amālā in 859 A. D. (para 304).

(xv) Māṇikyacandra

128. Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina ascetic of the Rāja Gachha, and a pupil of Śāgaracandrasūri, who was a pupil of Nemicandrasūri.² He is the author of the famous Saṃketa, one of the oldest and most authoritative commentaries on the Kāvyaaprakāśa of Maṃmaṭa (circa 1100 A. D.), another very old commentary from Gujarāt being the Dīpikā or Jayanti by Jayanta (1294 A. D.), son of Bhāradvāja and family-priest of the chief minister of king Śāraṃgadeva of the Vāghelā dynasty.³ Māṇikyacandra also composed two Mahākāvyas—Śāntināthacarita and Pārśvanāthacarita.⁴

Date of the composition of the Saṃketa

129. The Saṃketa is generally believed by scholars to have been composed in 1160 A. D. (1216 V. S.).⁵ Māṇikyacandra himself has mentioned the date of composition as follows, at the end of his work—

1 Vide also VC, ch. VII.

2 For genealogy of Māṇikyacandra's teachers, vide Peterson, Report III, pp. 157 ff; also PBC, pp. 53 f.

3 De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, pp. 171 f.

4 JRK, pp. 244 and 379.

5 Kane, Sāhityadarpaṇa, intro., p. 106; De, op. cit., p. 167; Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 198; Dhruva, Digdarśana (Guj.), p. 22. Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Śāstri Abhyankar has given this date in the introduction to his edition of the Saṃketa, but the relevant verse mentioning the year of composition, which is found in the manuscripts, is not to be seen in his text. It appears that in his edition, he has omitted the Praśasti.

रस-वक्त्र-ग्रहावीशवत्सरे मासि माधवे । काव्ये काव्यप्रकाशस्य संकेतोऽयं समर्थितः ॥¹

Ordinarily, the word वक्त्र may be taken to mean 'one' and hence the scholars have interpreted रस-वक्त्र-ग्रहावीश as "year 1216" V. S. But against this, there are certain historical facts, which lead us to interpret वक्त्र not as "one" but as "six" (mouths of Kārtikeya) or "four" (mouths of Brahman), and consequently, the year must be read as 1266 or 1246 V. S. (i) Firstly, Māṇikyacandra composed his Pārśvanāthacaritra in A. D. 1220 (V. S. 1276) at Devakūpaka or Dvīpa (modern Diva, an island on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra). He has mentioned the date as follows:—

रसार्थि-रविसंख्यायां समायां दीपपर्वणि । समर्थितमिदं वेलाकूले श्रीदेवकूपके ॥²

Now, if the author wrote the Saṃketa, a fruit of his mature learning and ripe intelligence, in 1160 A. D., it is difficult to believe that he should have been fit enough to compose a Mahākāvya sixty years afterwards—in 1220 A. D.—if at all he could have lived so long. And therefore, it would be more natural to interpret वक्त्र as "six" (mouths of Kārtikeya) or "four" (mouths of Brahman), and believe the Saṃketa to have been composed in 1266 V. S. (1210 A. D.) or 1246 V. S. (1190 A. D.). This interpretation is supported by some old authorities, the references from which were supplied to me by Mr. Agarachand Nāhaṭā,³ who has made a deep study of Śabdāṃkas (symbols for figures) occurring in the colophons of numerous works in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature, and who believes that the word गुहवक्त्र, गुहवदन or कुमारमुख which meant "six (mouths of Kārtikeya)" was shortened later on to वक्त्र, वदन or मुख, and still retained its original sense. It is interesting that nowhere in the treatises on Śabdāṃka the word मुख has been used in the sense of "one" (e. g. KKL, p. 144); either it is ब्रह्ममुख or गुहमुख. (ii) secondly, in the Praśasti of the Pārśvanāthacaritra we are told that the author had composed that work at the request of one Dehaḍa and his son pālhaṇa (who was also a poet) of the Śrīmālī community, the former being a son of Vardhamāna, who was a courtier of kings Kumārāpāla and Ajayapāla of Anahilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ.⁴ Kumārāpāla died in 1174 A. D.,⁵ and was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla, who was murdered by an attendant in 1177 A. D.⁶ Now, if Māṇikyacandra had written at the request of the son and the grandson of a courtier of Ajayapāla (the grandson,

1 PBC, p. 54.

2 Peterson, op. cit., p. 157.

3 (i) ऋतु जीवो रसो लेख्या द्रव्यश्च षट्कं खरम् । कुमारवदनं वर्णं शिलीमुखपदानि च ॥

—Gapitasāra of Mahāvīracārya

(ii) रसदर्शनतुर्तर्काः गुहवक्त्राणि षट् तथा ।

—from an old palm-leaf giving Śabdāṃka

(From Mr. Nāhaṭā's letter dated 15th May 1948)

In addition to these—

रसरागवज्रकोणः त्रिशिरो नेत्रांतराणि गुणतर्काः । दर्शनगुहमुखभूखंडचक्राणि स्युरिह षट्संख्या ॥

KKL, p. 145.

4 Peterson, op. cit.

5 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 194.

6 Ibid, p. 195.

too, must have been of mature age, as he has been referred to by the author as प्रज्ञावता सत्कविपुङ्गवेन), it is evident that the date of his works should be considerably later than the reign of Ajayapāla. Apparently, that date must be nearer to 1220 A. D., the date of composition of the Pārs'vanāthacaritra.

Māṇikyacandra's contact with Vastupāla

130. (iii) Thirdly, there is most trustworthy evidence to show that Māṇikyacandra had come in close touch with Vastupāla. According to the contemporary Prabandhāvali (1234 A. D.) of Jinabhadra¹ (para 117), Vastupāla once invited Māṇikyacandra at his place, when the latter was staying at Vāṭakūpa near Stambhatīrtha. Māṇikyacandra did not accept the invitation on account of some engagement.² Vastupāla, rather irritated at the pride of the scholar, sent to him a satirical verse, in which making a pun on the place-name Vāṭakūpa he called him a frog of the well. Māṇikyacandra retorted in an equally pungent manner. Then Vastupāla, through his men, got manuscripts and all other things removed from Māṇikyacandra's Upāśraya at Stambhatīrtha, and then the Ācārya came to him for making a complaint. Māṇikyacandra asked, "why should there be this trouble in my place, though you, the chief of the community, are living?" The minister smilingly replied, "because the reverend sir was not coming." And then the minister returned to Māṇikyacandra all his belongings and arranged a public welcome in his honour.³ According to the same Prabandhāvali, Māṇikyacandra was also in touch with Yaśovira, a friend and contemporary of Vastupāla (para 92)⁴. Now, if we take the date of the Saṃketa to be 1160 A. D., there would arise a gross anachronism, as probably Vastupāla was not even born in that year. The chronology becomes quite clear if we take the date 1210 or 1190 A. D., as suggested above.

131. It seems from the Prabandhas that though in the beginning the relations of Vastupāla and Māṇikyacandra were not sufficiently cordial, later on they came nearer, and Vastupāla gave considerable literary help to Māṇikyacandra by supplying to him manuscripts, etc. Prabandhas also quote several verses of Māṇikyacandra composed in Vastupāla's praise.⁵

MINOR POETS AND SCHOLARS

Madana and his rivalry with Harihara

132. In addition to the poets and scholars mentioned above, there were a number of others comparatively of minor importance, who came in touch

1 PPS, pp. 63 f.; also pp. 76 f.

2 According to the VC (VII. 99-113), Vastupāla invited Māṇikyacandra to join him in a pilgrimage, but the latter could not come, as he was engaged upon writing of his Saṃketa. He did not even care to depute any of his pupils.

3 According to the VC (VII. 113), Vastupāla gave Māṇikyacandra one copy of all the important works on different Śāstras from his library.

4 PPS, p. 50.

5 Ibid, pp. 64 and 77.

with Vastupāla and were patronized by him. The traditional accounts of such literary persons have been preserved in the Prabandhas, and we have a peep in the contemporary literary life when we make a search for their biographical details. Among such poets there was one Madana, who has been identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with a Digambara Madanakīrti, whose life has been described in the 14th chapter of the Prabandhakośa,¹ though we may say that there is scarcely any historical ground to do so, and that the identification of Madana with any well-known personality of that name is, really speaking, without any positive evidence. The Purāṇanaprabandhasaṁgraha notes that two great poets named Madana and Harihara (para 80-84) in Vastupāla's assembly were always at logger-head and they never ceased to annoy one another. Vastupāla had ordered the door-keeper that "when one is with me, the other should not be allowed to enter." But once when Harihara was having some literary discussions with Vastupāla, Madana went there, and said—

हरिहर परिहर गर्व कविराजगङ्गुशो मदनः।

to which Harihara promptly retorted—

मदन विमुद्रय वदनं हरिहरचरितं सरातीतम् ॥

Then, to make an end of their controversy, Vastupāla said, "he will be considered a Mahākavi who composes one hundred verses at once". Madana at once composed a hundred verses describing a cocoanut, while Harihara could prepare only sixty. Harihara was told by Vastupāla that he was vanquished. Thereupon Harihara uttered a verse showing the difference between a large quantity of coarse garments prepared by a village-weaver and a precious cloth fit to be worn by the queens, suggesting thereby that in poetry quality is more important than quantity. Vastupāla, entertained by this, gave pleasure-gifts to both these poets.² The account given by the Purāṇanaprabandhasaṁgraha is supported by the Subhāṣitaratnakośa of Kṛṣṇa, as it has quoted the verses showing the poetic rivalry between Madana and Harihara.³

Pālhanaputra, Cācariyāka and others

133. There was a poet who called himself Pālhanaputra or son of Pālhaṇa, who composed in 1233 A. D. (V. S. 1289) Āburāsa, a poem in Apabhraṁśa, commemorating Vastupāla's building of temples on Ābu two years earlier. A scholar named Cācariyāka had come to Dhavalakka in the times of Vastupāla, and his speech was so instructive that Udayaprabhāsūri was going incognito to hear him. Vastupāla presented him with two thousand drammas and honoured him in public.⁴ Cācariyāka had a pupil named Haradeva, who had highly entertained the people of Āśāpalli (same as Kaṣṇa-

1 Bhandarkar, Report IV, p. 77.

2 PPS, p. 77.

3 Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 57.

4 PPS, p. 76.

āvati on the site of modern Ahmedabad) by reciting the Rāmāyaṇa.¹ We are also told about two reciters of religious stories, both known as Pippalā-cārya, who had won a large prize in cash from Tejapāla and Anupamā by singing before them the life of Satī Candanabālā.² In addition to these, we get names of several other poets and bards—Yaśodhara of Vāmanasthali,³ Mādhava,⁴ Kamalāditya of Kṛṣṇanagar,⁵ Śaṅkarasvāmin,⁶ Dāmodara,⁷ Vikala,⁸ Vairisimha of Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ,⁹ Jayantadeva or Jayadeva,¹⁰ etc., who entertained Vastupāla with their poetic achievements and whose verses composed on various occasions—like a pilgrimage, a victory, a poetic assembly or a welcome—have been quoted in the Prabandhas. They were amply rewarded by their patron.

Vastupāla's family-members credited with poetic achievements

134. It would be interesting here to note that several family-members of Vastupāla are also credited with poetic achievements. Some verses are ascribed to Tejapāla,¹¹ the one recited by him at the time of welcoming Yaśovīra on Ābu being especially noteworthy.¹² Tejapāla's famous wife Anupamā, who was praised by the followers of the six systems as Śāddarśanamātā or the mother of six darśanas on account of her equal treatment of all in matters of giving donations, has been credited with the composition of a Kamkaṇa-kāvyā ('a woman's poem?'), which has been expressly mentioned as her own work.¹³ Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, who was also a patron of literature, as we have already seen (para 117 and 126), had uttered a verse at the death of his father, which has been quoted in more than one Prabandhas.¹⁴ It is not to be wondered at if persons brought up in a literary atmosphere saturated with Sanskrit learning, though not poets themselves, could compose stray verses when moved on particular occasions. And in that way, there is no reason to doubt the statements found in the Prabandhas.

ANONYMOUS POETS

135. In addition to these, there were a number of poets whose names are not known, but whose verses in praise of Vastupāla on different occasions are

1 Ibid, p. 78,

2 Ibid, p. 75.

3 Ibid, p. 62.

4 Ibid, p. 62.

5 PK, p. 120.

6 VC, IV. 736, 737.

7 Ibid, VI. 81.

8 Ibid, VI. 364.

9 Ibid, VIII. 344.

10 PC, p. 103; UT, p. 76.

11 PPS, p. 70; PK, p. 120.

12 VC, VIII. 210.

13 PPS, p. 63. Also vide p. 70.

14 VC, VIII. 480.

quoted in the Prabandhas. The number of such laudatory verses available ascribed to anonymous poets would exceed perhaps one hundred, which shows that they were patronized by Vastupāla, and it is expressly mentioned that they were rewarded with large gifts. There were a number of Bhaṭṭas or bards and Cāraṇas among these poets, and some of them have praised their patron in Apabhraṃśa Dūhās¹—Dūhā being the most widely current metre for literary compositions, especially of lyric and gnomic type, in the Apabhraṃśa and old western Rājasthānī literature.

¹ PPS, pp. 63-64; UT, p. 79.

PART III

CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

CHAPTER VI

MAHĀKĀVYAS

136. After making a historical and biographical study of the literary circle of Vastupāla, we now come to the contribution which it made to Sanskrit literature. For that purpose, it is necessary to make a survey of the literary works extant composed by the poets and scholars in that circle. I propose to make that survey by classifying the literature according to form, and beginning with the Mahākāvya.

Characteristics of the Mahākāvya

137. The Mahākāvya (lit. 'great narrative poem')¹ along with the Nāṭaka or drama is decidedly the most popular form of Sanskrit literature and hundreds of poets from the days of Aśvaghoṣa or even before have attempted that form. Daṇḍin (circa. 600 A. D.), in his Kāvyaadarśa, has described the characteristics of Mahākāvya in the following manner: "Composition in canto is a long poem (Mahākāvya) and its definition is being given (now). Its opening is a benediction, a salutation, or naming of the principal theme; it springs from a historical incident (Itihāsa-kathā) or is otherwise based upon some fact (Sadāśraya); it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble; by description of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons and risings of the moon or the sun; through sporting and love; through sentiments of love in separation and through marriages, by description of the birth and rise of princes, and likewise through state-counsel, embassy, advance, battle, and the hero's triumph; embellished; not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions, with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints, and in each case with an ending in a different metre, furnished; such a poem possessing good figures of speech wins the peoples' heart and endures longer than (even) a Kalpa".²

138. As mentioned in the above definition, a Mahākāvya is based on Itihāsa-kathā, that is, a story handed down traditionally; or otherwise, as Daṇḍin says, it may be Sadāśraya or based upon some real fact, that is, a historical incident in the modern sense. Most of the Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit literature are based upon mythological themes. It is in comparatively later times that one finds poems based upon incidents which can be looked upon as historical. Nevertheless the Indian literary taste was so much enchanted with the mythological heroes, whose lives made an appeal throughout the length and breadth of the whole of India that the

1 I am translating the word Mahākāvya in this way to distinguish it from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, for which the word 'epic' may be reserved.

2 Kāvyaadarśa, 1. 14-19 (Belwalkar's translation, pp. 1 f.); for two other detailed definitions of the Mahākāvya, vide the Kāvyaalankāra of Ruirāṭa, XVI. 7-18; and the Sāhityadarpaka, VI. 315-25.

Mahākāvyas having less widely known heroes of recent history could attain only a limited popularity in comparison with those based on mythology. In spite of this general tendency, in certain parts of India like Gujarāt, a large number of Mahākāvyas based upon historical events and personalities were written and they were fairly popular. The historical Mahākāvyas of which we are going to make a survey, have predecessors in Gujarāt in such works as the two Dvyāśraya Mahākāvyas of Hemacandra (para 24) and successors in such works as the Dhārādhvaṃsa of Gaṇapati Vyāsa, referred to in the Praśasti of Nānaka (para 88), but not discovered as yet, the Kumārapālacarita Mahākāvya (1367 A. D.) of Jayasimhaśūri, the Somasaubhāgya (1468 A. D.) of Pratiṣṭhāsoma, the Hirasaubhāgya of Devavimala (17th century), and other works; and several Caritras can be conveniently included under this head. The contribution of the literary circle of Vastupāla in the domain of Mahākāvya consists of four historical Mahākāvyas and several others which are based either on Brahmanical or Jaina mythology. After making a historical and biographical study of Vastupāla and his literary circle, it would be more suitable to discuss these two types in separate sections, and to review the historical ones first.

Study of the classical models in Gujarāt

139. While reviewing these works, we have to bear in mind that we may not expect in them the first class poetry of the classical period, but that does not mean that their achievements in literary skill are negligible, because they were a result of a competent study of the classical models. In mediaeval Gujarāt, there was a great scholastic activity going on, as I have already pointed out earlier, and the works of the great masters like those of Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Māgha, and later on of Śrīhaṛṣa, were being zealously studied and commented upon,¹ and these provided much mental food to the aspiring poets. Among the lovers of drama, the plays of Haṛṣa and the Anargharāghava of Murāri were very popular. However, the literary works which we are to study are not mere imitations of the great masters; rather they are inspired by the style, descriptions and subject-matter of the older poems, but have an individuality of their own, and in certain cases at least, we get poems which can be ranked among finest productions of mediaeval Sanskrit poetry.

SECTION I

HISTORICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara

140. Coming to the historical Mahākāvyas, we first take the Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara, which, as we have seen, is the main source of information among the contemporary works for the history of the Vāghelās and also

¹ For a number of commentaries on the Pañcakāvyas written in Gujarāt, vide BHV, vol. II, pp. 267 ff., 417 ff, and vol. III, pp. 25 ff.

for the history of Vastupāla. It is a poem in nine cantos, comprising 722 verses in all. In the *first canto*, after saluting the four hands of Viṣṇu, which are like the four sentinels of Dharma, the poet pays his homage to God Śiva and goddess Sarasvatī. Then he praises the poets in general, and particularly has devoted separate stanzas to Valmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi, Bāṇa, Dhanapāla, Bihlaṇa, Hemacandra, Nilakaṇṭha and Prahlādana. Among the poets in the literary circle of Vastupāla, he has praised Naracandra, Vijayasena, Subhaṭa and Yaśovira. After praising the good and having censured the wicked in a few verses the poet says that he has proceeded to write a poem about Vastupāla having observed his high birth, generosity, hospitality, good conduct, wisdom, mercy, justice and devotion towards him (i. e. the poet), and that his speech becomes, as if eager to sing the merits of Vastupāla (vv. 44-47). Then the poet gives a description of Aṇanilavāḍ, which though full of poetic embellishments, is sufficiently realistic to give an idea of the glories of that capital city of the Gujarāt kingdom. Among many other things, the poet has made a special mention of the lake Sahasraliṅga and Kirtistambha on its bank (vv. 71-81).

141. The *second canto* gives the history of the kings of Gujarāt from Mūlarāja to Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Viradhavala of Dhavalakka. It mentions Mūlarāja, Cāmuṇḍa, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja, Bhīma, Karṇa, Jaysiṃha Sidhharājā, Kumārāpāla, Ajayapāla, Mūlarāja II and Bhīma II, and describes their political career and warlike exploits in a few poetical lines (vv. 1-61) and comes to Dhavala, the first man of the Vāghelā dynasty and his son Arṇorāja, who tried his best to put the Caulukya kingdom of Gujarāt on a firm foundation. The treatment naturally becomes more detailed, when the poet comes to Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda and grandson Viradhavala, who had selected Vastupāla as their minister. Lavaṇaprasāda slew the lord of Naḍul. In his kingdom thieves were unknown. Only he carried away the glories of the hostile kings. His son, the illustrious Viradhavala, resembled his father so closely that he reflected, as it were, his image in the mirror (vv. 67-77). Once Lavaṇaprasāda, waking up at day-break, sent for his purohita Someśvaradeva (the author himself) to inform him of the dream which he had seen during the night. The priest came, gave his blessings to the chief, and sat down on a mat. Then Lavaṇaprasāda, attended by his son Viradhavala, began to narrate as follows (vv. 83-86)—“It seemed to me that I ascended the mountain of Śiva and worshipped the god, who visibly appeared before my eyes. Then as I finished my worship and became absorbed in holy meditation, I saw standing before me a moon-faced woman, beautiful like the Rākā (the goddess of the full-moon), dressed in white garments, anointed with white unguents, and holding a chaplet in her hands. Wondering, I asked her who she was and why she had come. Then she addressed me thus—‘O hero, know that I am the royal fortune of the Gurjara kings, who is sorely tormented by the crowds of the enemies. Alas! those Gurjara princes are dead, who were able to destroy their foes, and in whose arms I used to rest. The young or foolish king who rules in their stead is

unable to subdue the armies of his enemies. His Mantrins and Māṇḍalikas possess neither wisdom nor valour. They even cast their lustful glances to me, though I am their lord's lawful wife. The Purohita Āmasarman is dead, who used to protect me. Gone is the son of Muñjāla, who humbled rebellious Rājputs. Pratāpamalla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan is no longer, who could not even bear the smell of the hostile elephants. My own people have brought me very low, all except one, namely Jagaddeva, who kept the enemy from entering the capital. No lights shine at night in the capital of the Gurjara land; it resounds with the howl of the jackal, its walls are broken. Therefore, do thou, together with thy son Viradhavala rescue me and save'." And Lavaṇaprasāda continued, "After the goddess had spoken thus, she threw her garland on my neck and vanished together with my dream. Now, tell me what this means." Hereupon Someśvara addressed the chief, declared him to be the happiest of all Rājputs, since fortune wooed him of her own accord, and he exhorted him to accept the charge laid upon him and to engage able ministers (vv. 87-113)¹

142. This allegorical description hints at the fact that Lavaṇaprasāda had taken into his hands the reign of Government at Aṇahilavād to remove disorder and to protect the fortune of the king. The same allegory, with some alterations, additions and embellishments occurs in other contemporary works like the Sukṛtasamkīrtana and the Vasantavilāsa, and the later chronicles like the Prabandhakośa and the Vastupālacarita. The plain fact may be this that Lavaṇaprasāda and his son employed various tactics-fair and foul-to uproot the enemies of Bhimadeva, and hence the chroniclers were obliged to justify all their actions in this way in the interests of the royal fortune of Gujārāt.

143. In the *third canto* the poet gives an account of Vastupāla's ancestors right onwards from Caṇḍapa and completes the genealogy mentioning Vastupāla's son Jaitrasimha and Tejapāla's son Lāvaṇyasimha (vv. 1-50). Lavaṇaprasāda was thinking of appointing able ministers, and he instantly called for Vastupāla and Tejapāla, whom he held in high esteem, and expressed his desire to appoint them as his counsellors. Vastupāla accepted the offer and the chief gave the two brothers the charge of ministerial seal. The *fourth canto* says that after his appointment Vastupāla was sent to Stambhatīrtha, where he re-established order and overhauled the administration (para 49), and peace began to reign in the land, when Simhaṇa of Devagiri invaded Gñjarāt, but was repulsed by Lavaṇaprasāda. Śamkha of Lāṭa, who considered the port of Stambhatīrtha his own property, sent messenger to Vastupāla, and pressed the latter to accept his service. But Vastupāla gave a crushing rejoinder, and the messenger had to return. The *fifth canto* describes the fierce battle between Vastupāla and Śamkha, in which brave warriors on both the sides were killed, but in the end Śamkha of Bṛgukachha had to make a retreat with the remainder of his army. The *sixth canto* is mainly devoted to the festivities of the citizens of

1 IA, Vol. VI, p. 189.

Stambhatīrtha, elated with delight at Vastupāla's valour in fighting the imminent calamity. The houses were white-washed, the sounds of musical instruments were heard, the house-wives began to sing pleasant songs, special ceremonies were held in the temples, the high roads were decorated, and women wore costly attire (vv. 2-3). There was a festival in the temple of the goddess Ekallavīrā, and the minister with a small retinue went to salute the goddess, and the men and women flocked on the roads to have a glance at the victorious hero. After worshipping the goddess, the minister entered the pleasure-grove, and there at the noon-time he sat in a conference with the poets. Some poets admired his family, some his gifts, and others his virtuous character. The ears of Vastupāla, who was like Karmā, were purified by the speech of the poets, and he in his turn delighted their hearts with his generosity. Thus being sprinkled by the nectar of poetry, Vastupāla spent the noon in summer season, in the garden in the company of the poets, and returned home in the evening (vv. 49-56).

144. The *seventh canto* is devoted to traditional description of moon-rise and love-sports, full of high poetic fancy. The *eighth canto* is styled the Parmārtha-vicāra or religious thought. After the morning bath, the minister worshipped the Tirthamkara, and became deeply engrossed in religious thoughts, and decided to make a pilgrimage. The *ninth canto* is devoted to the description of the Saṃghayātrā. The pilgrim-caravan started on an auspicious day with numerous elephants, horses, bullocks, camels, chariots and all the important articles of daily use. A large number of servants were taken with the Saṃgha. Those who had no conveyance were given conveyance, those in need of money were given money, and those who required cloths were given cloths. The Saṃgha was given due reception in all the towns on the way. The men and women in the Saṃgha were singing religious songs, and worshipped the images of Jina in the temples in course of their travel. The minister reached the beautiful peak of Śātruṅjaya, and worshipped with flowers the Yakṣa called Kapardin. There he built two imposing shrines of Neminātha and Pārśvanātha, and in the assembly-hall of the latter temple he put the equestrian statues of his ancestors, brothers and friends, and constructed a lake near the mountain (vv. 31-36). Staying there for two or three days (v. 37),¹ he went to the mountain Raivataka (Girnār), and entering the shrine of Neminātha, worshipped the deity with perfumes, so that the whole mountain became fragrant. Forgetting the worries of political affairs he spent there many days (v. 69), and then going to Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ in Southern Saurāṣṭra saluted the Tirthamkara Candraprabha and worshipped the God Somanātha with devotion, and then returned to his city Dhavalakka, giving donations to the supplicants. The women of

1 This statement is of particular interest, because the Jaina pilgrims never pass the night on the mountain now. The SS (VI. 43) informs us that Vastupāla's stay on the mountain lasted for eight days, which is also corroborated by the VC (IA, Vol. XXXI, p. 489 n.). In any case, it is certain that in those days the pilgrims used to spend several nights on the holy mountain.

the city flocked to see the minister, though they had seen him previously perhaps a hundred times. Having entered the town, Vastupāla touched the feet of his Indra-like master, and bade farewell to the people of the Saṁgha having given them a welcome (v. 77). And Someśvara completes his poem with a final benediction that Vastupāla, a great donor like Karṇa, may be ever-victorious, hearing the admiration of his fame, sung by the bards. (v. 78).

145. Thus the Kīrtikaumudī is a poem written to eulogize a contemporary hero, but at the same time it fulfils all the conditions laid down for the literary form of Mahākāvya. It is based upon the life of an actual person (Sadāśraya), and its hero is intelligent and noble (Caturōdātta). The style of Someśvara in this poem is the easy and simple Vaidarbhi style, sufficiently elevated and grand at appropriate places; he seldom employs any śleṣas, and as a rule, he is free in this poem from the artificialities prevalent in the poetic art of his times. Clearly, the model of Someśvara is Kālidāsa, and at least one of his Mahākāvyas, viz. the Kīrtikaumudī, is such as can stand honourably with the famous specimens of Sanskrit poetry, composed after Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha. In the first canto of the Surathotsava, he has expressed his fondness for Kālidāsa's poetry in the following words, "my intellect does not find pleasure in any other poem, when I think of the speech of Kālidāsa. Would ever the swarm of bees delight in the Sindhuvāra flower abandoning the heavenly Pārijāta?"¹ This statement by the poet himself becomes significant, when we know that the autobiographical account of the royal glory in the Kīrtikaumudī (II) is an unmistakable reflection, if not imitation, of an almost similar account in the Raghuvamśa (XVI. 4-24) of the desolate city of Ayodhyā, requesting Kuśa to shift his capital back from Kuśāvati to the parental town. A number of descriptions in the Kīrtikaumudī are of such high literary merit as can stand in comparison with some of the best specimens of Sanskrit poetry. The description of Aṇahil-avāḍ, the lake Sahasraliṅga and the Kīrtistambha (I. 47 ff.); and lamentation of the royal glory of Gujarāt in her misery (II. 87 ff.); welcome of Vastupāla in Stambhatīrtha, when he went to that city as a governor (II. 7-8), and festivities of the citizens when Śaṁkha was defeated (VI. 2 ff.); the description of women hurrying to have a glance at Vastupāla (VI. 16 ff.), which is reminiscent of similar descriptions in Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa and Bāṇa; the charming description of moon-rise (VII), and narration of the great Saṁgha-yātrā (IX)—are some instances in point. The short dialogue between Vastupāla and Lavaṇaprasāda (III. 59 ff.) is an illustration of forceful poetic dialogue, containing important discussion on politics, such as we find in the beginning of the Śīsupālavadha and the Kirātārjuniya.

146. It would be proper here to quote a few verses from the Kīrtikaumudī, which would give some idea of Someśvara's poetic art at its best; e.g. description of the Kīrtistambha in one verse—

यस्योच्चैः सरसस्तীরे राजते रजतोज्ज्वलः । कीर्तिस्तम्भो नभोगङ्गाप्रवाहोऽवतरन्निव ॥
(I. 75)

And the pitiable condition of Anahilavāḍ in the reign of Bhimadeva, as described by the Rājyalakṣmī :

मुण्डेव खण्डितनिरन्तरवृक्षखण्डा निःकुण्डलेव दलितोज्ज्वलवृत्तवप्रा ।
दूरादपास्तवषया विधवेव दैन्यमभ्येति गुर्जरधराधिपराजधानी ॥

(II. 104)

Someśvara's argument before Lavaṇaprasāda to appoint capable ministers :

दृप्यद्भुजाः क्षितिभुजः श्रियमर्जयन्ति नीत्या समुन्नयति मन्त्रिजनः पुनस्तान् ।
रत्नावलीं जलधयो जनयन्ति किन्तु संस्कारमत्र मणिकारगणः करोति ॥

(II. 113)

Vastupāla expresses readiness to accept the charge of ministership only if the king is willing to act justly in matters political :

पुरस्कृत्य न्यायं खलजनमनादृत्य सहजान्नरीन्निजित्य श्रीपतिचरितमाश्रित्य च यदि ।
समुद्धर्तुं धात्रीमभिलषसि तत्तैष शिरसा धृतो देवादेशः स्फुटमपरथा स्वस्ति भवते ॥

(III. 77)

There is a powerful description of panic in the Gurjara land, when Śimhaṇa attacked it :

श्रुतसिङ्घनासिंहनादप्रसरा गुर्जरराजराजधानी ।
हरिणीव हरिन्मुखावलोकं चकितान्तःकरणा मुहुश्चकार ॥
गृहमारभते न कोऽपि कर्तुं कुरुते कोऽपि न संग्रहं कणानाम् ।
स्मिरतां क्वचनपि नैति चेतः परचक्रागमशङ्कया प्रजानाम् ॥
अवधीरितधान्यसंचयानां बहुमानः शकटेषु मानवानाम् ।
विपदासुदये हि दुर्निवारे शरणं चक्रमृदेव देहभाजाम् ॥
समुपैति यथा यथा समीपं रिपुराजध्वजिनी मदात्तदानीम् ।
परतः परतस्तथा तथासौ जनता जातभयोच्छ्रया प्रयाति ॥

(IV. 43-46)

Public festivities in Stambhatīrtha delineated in simple but expressive language—

गृहे गृहे धातुरसानुलेपाः समन्ततः स्वस्तिकपङ्क्तिमन्तः ।
विरेजिरे तूर्ध्ववानुकूलाः कुलाङ्गनामङ्गलगीतयश्च ॥
बभूव देवेषु विशेषपूजा राजन्यमार्गेषु विशेषशोभा ।
विशेषहर्षः पुरपूरुषेषु विशेषवेषश्च वधूजनेषु ॥

(VI. 2-3)

Beautiful poetic generalizations:

त्रैलोक्यदीपके देवे लोकान्तरमुपेयुषि । तमस्तान्तमभूद्विष्य कः सुखी महदापदि ॥
गते मानो स्थिते ध्वान्ते पद्मिन्या साधु मीलितम् । दुरीक्षा महतामापदसतामुन्नतिश्च यत् ॥

(VII. 15-16)

Some highly poetic fancies :

क गतः सविता ध्वान्तमेतदप्यागतं कुतः । एवं सविस्सयेव बौः स्फारतारमवैक्षत ॥

(VII. 19)

नीरन्ध्रेगान्धकारेण रोदसी संपुदीकृते । अथोद्घाटयितुं कोऽपि प्रवृत्त इव पूर्वतः ॥

(VII. 24)

रोहिणीरमणं वीक्ष्य रागादागतमन्तिके । सस्मितेव तदुद्योतदम्मादभवदिन्द्रदिक् ॥
(VII. 26)

अविर्द्भूव पूर्वसादद्रेश्चन्द्रः शनैः शनैः । तदीयैस्तटमाणिक्यकिरणैर्घेरिवारुणः ॥
(VII. 28)

There is a realistic touch in comparing the emerald-studded ear-rings of the women with black letters in books written on palm-leaf, on account of similarity in colour :

ताड्यवश्रिया न्यस्तनीत्यादमगणवर्णया । पुस्तिकेव चकास्ति स काचित् कामविपश्चितः ॥
(VII. 53)

A masterly description of the autumn, which shows that Someśvara was equally at home in composition in longer metres also :

स्वच्छं वारि निवारितामरधनुर्व्योम व्यपेतान्मसः पाथोदाः समदाः सितच्छदवधूराशाः सकाशाः पुरः ।
भाति स प्रथयद्द्वैप्रथमिकां तेजस्विषूत्तेजितः श्यामाम्भोधरभसनेव शशभृद्विक्रामिनीदर्पणः ॥
(VIII. 71)

Two out of several pithy sayings put in the mouth of Vastupāla before he starts on a pilgrimage :

पित्राद्यैरुपसृता या पुत्राद्यैरपि भोज्यते । कामयन्ते न तां सन्नो ग्रामवेद्यामिव श्रियम् ॥
(VIII. 35)

अन्धा एव धनान्धाः स्युरिति सत्यं तथा हि ये । अन्योक्तेनाध्वना गच्छन्त्यन्यहस्तावलम्बिनः ॥
(VIII. 37)

And he comes to the conclusion that Dharma is the only support in life :

विधौ विध्यति सक्त्रोऽथे वर्म वर्मः शरीरिणाम् । स एव केवलं तस्मादस्माकं जायतां गतिः ॥
(VIII. 56)

Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha

147. Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha is another historical Mahākāvya, which also has for its theme the life and works of Vastupāla. As its name suggests, it has been composed for commemorating the good deeds of Vastupāla. just as the Kirtikaumudī puts comparatively more emphasis on the political side of Vastupāla's life, the Sukṛtasamkīrtana gives more space to his religious and public works. Thus the two poems supplement each other, and it is quite possible that they were written with the same end in view. The Sukṛtasamkīrtana has 11 cantos and 553 verses in all.

148. The *first canto* gives a genealogy of the kings of the Cāpotkaṭa or Cāvaḍā dynasty, which was the first ruling family at Aṇahilavāḍ, and a description of that city. It is worthy of note that out of a large number of historical poems written in Gujarāt during the Caulukya and the Vāghelā period, only the Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha and Sukṛtakīrtikallolī of Udayaprabha have mentioned the Cāvaḍās, and even Hemacandra who made a regular attempt to write a history of his city has remained silent on this matter. It was probably because the Cāvaḍās were considered an unimportant dynasty

ruling over a small territory, though Vanarāja of the same clan was the founder of Aṇahilavād. Arisimha has mentioned eight kings of the Cāvaḍā dynasty, viz. Vanarāja, Yogarāja, Ratnāditya, Vairisimha, Kṣemarāja, Cāmuṇḍa, Rāhaḍa and Bhūbhata.¹ He has nothing particular to say about them except with reference to Vanarāja that he had built the temple of Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha in Aṇahilavād (I. 10), which was later on repaired by Vastupāla (XI. 2).² The *second canto* is devoted to description of the Caulukya dynasty, and beginning from Mūlarāja, the poet comes upto Bhīma-deva II, whom he describes as beset with worries, because his territories were usurped by his feudatories (II. 51). No more historical information is derived from it than what we obtain from the Kīrtikaumudī.

149. The *third canto* is styled Mantriprakāśa or appearance of ministers. If we compare the narrative given in this canto with that given by Someśvara in the second canto of the Kīrtikaumudī, a considerable difference can be marked. According to Someśvara's representation, a female figure symbolising the fortune of kings of Gujārāt appeared in a dream to Lavaṇaprasāda, and called upon him to save the kingdom which had fallen into decay under the rule of Bhīma. Thereupon, obeying the command of the goddess, Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala took upon themselves the task of re-establishing the glory of Aṇahilavād, and appointed Vastupāla and Tejapāla as their ministers. That is the simple story, when we reject the mythological additions, which Someśvara as a good court-poet was bound to have inserted. Arisimha has put the matter in a different manner. Kumārapāla (who, as we know, was a cousin of Arjorāja, the first man of the Vāghelā clan) appeared to Bhīma in a dream in the form of a god (III. 1 ff.), and ordered him to appoint Lavaṇaprasāda as his Sarveśvara (III. 23), so that the latter may destroy the enemies, and make him the lord of wealth. Bhīma in his assembly appointed Lavaṇaprasāda as Sarveśvara, and called Viradhavala his Yuvarāj (III. 37-39).³ Lavaṇaprasāda requested Bhīma that

1 The earliest inscriptional reference to the Cāvaḍās is to be found in the Vāḍnagar inscription of Kumārapāla dated V. S. 1208 (1152 A. D.). The earliest literary reference to the name of Vanarāja, founder of Aṇahilavād, and first king of the Cāvaḍā dynasty, who ruled there, is in the Praśasti of an Apabhramśa work called Nemināhacariu composed by Haribhadrasūri (different from his famous name-sake mentioned in para 17) in V. S. 1216 i. e. 1160 A. D. (R. C. Parikh, Kāvyaṇuśāsana, intro., p. 103). There is considerable difference in the genealogy of the Cāvaḍā kings and their years of rule given in the later works, and the chronology of the Cāvaḍās has not been satisfactorily settled as yet. For a discussion of the problem, vide Bühler, IA, vol. XXXI, pp. 481 f., and R. C. Modi, Cāvaḍāonī Vamśāvalī (Guj.) in the Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th Gujarati Literary Conference.

2 VC, VII. 66.

3 गुहाण विग्रहोदयसर्वेश्वरपदं मन । युवराजोऽस्तु मे वीरधवलो धवलो गुणैः ॥

(SS, III. 39).

to do his task properly he must have a minister who may be proficient in the use of Śāstras (authoritative treatises) and the Śāstra (use of arms), equally an adept in the replenishing of treasury and fighting battles (III. 43). The king, having thought for a while replied that he would readily lend the services of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, and ordered them to work as ministers of Viradhavala (III. 44 ff.).¹

150. Having thus described Vastupāla's promotion to political power, Arisimha comes to his Sukṛta or pious works in the *fourth canto*. Viradhavala conquered, with the help of Vastupāla, 'the ocean-girt earth.' Then, on the advice of his brother, Vastupāla once decided to hear the preachings of his preceptor and to do the pious works according to his advice (IV. 14-26). At this juncture the poet gives the genealogy of the monks of the Nāgendra gachha, who from the time of Caṇḍapa served his family as spiritual preceptors—from Mahendrasūri to Vijayasenasūri (IV. 15-26). Vastupāla goes to Vijayasena and hears sermon. The Guru commends a pilgrimage as a meritorious deed (IV. 33-43), and consequently Vastupāla decides to lead a Saṅgha to Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār (IV. 44). The *fifth canto* describes the preparations for journey (v. 1-6), which can be compared with the description of the same topic in the Kirtikaumudī (Canto IX). The poet says that physicians were also taken, carrying necessary medicines, so that the sick could be given assistance (v. 2-4). Vastupāla personally went to the monasteries and invited the monks respectfully to join the Saṅgha (v. 6). Names of some distinguished monks who took part in the pilgrimage are also mentioned. They are Naracandrasūri, Jinadattasūri of the Vāyāḍa gachha,² who was abode of arts, Śāntisūri of the Saṇḍeraka gachha,³ and Vardhamānasūri,⁴ 'the sun of the Gallakas'⁵ (v. 10-13). The canto closes with the arrival of the Saṅgha at the foot of the mountain Śatruñjaya.

1 आहूय तौ स्वयं ग्राह नमन्मौली सहोदरौ । युवां नरेन्द्रव्यापारपारावारैकपरगौ ॥
कुरुतां मन्त्रितां वीरधवलस्य मदाकृते ।
(SS, III. 58-59).

2 Vide para 101, footnotes

3 Śāntisūri was the preceptor of minister Yaśovīra of Jābālipura (para 94). Installation-ceremonies of images in the temples built by Yaśovīra were performed by this Ācārya (PJLS, nos. 108-109).

4 Vardhamānasūri was an Ācārya of the Vṛdhha gachha (VC, VIII. 603). Vastupāla did a pilgrimage to Śaṃkheśvara in North Gñjarāt on hearing his sermon (VC, VII. 284-97). He is also mentioned in the PPS (pp. 68, 83, 95, 119).

5 The Gallakas seem to be a tribe or a caste of which Vardhamānasūri was a spiritual head (cf. स वर्षमानाभिषसुरिषेखरस्ततोऽवलद् गल्लकलोकमास्तरः (SS, V. 13). According to an inscription from Verāval in Saurāṣṭra dated Valabhī era 927 (1246 A. D.), Śreṣṭhin Mūla, who belonged to the Gallaka community (Gallaka-Jātīya), had installed an image of Govardhana at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ (HIG, no. 250 A). Perhaps the word Gallaka may have some affinity with

151. The *sixth canto* is devoted to a conventional description of sunrise, and the *seventh* describes the ascent of the mountain and the festivities there in the next morning. After saluting the Yakṣa Kapardin, Vastupāla went to the main shrine of Ādinātha, where the pilgrims followed him. Vastupāla laid himself prostrate outside the shrine, and praised the Jina in a hymn (VII. 26-33). Then he entered the shrine after purifying himself amidst dances and songs, and washed the image with saffron-water, rubbed it with musk and put the flowers on it. After staying on the mountain for eight days the minister descended from it, and became eager to go to Gīrnār. The *eighth canto* describes how the minister made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Somanātha at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ, and to that of Neminātha on Gīrnār, where also he stayed for eight days. The *ninth canto* describes the beauties of six seasons, which Vastupāla saw on the slope of the mountain, and thus adds to the poem a traditional feature required by the technical rules of the Mahākāvya.

152. The *tenth canto* describes the return journey of the Saṅgha from Gīrnār to Dhavalakka. After coming down from the mountain, Vastupāla feasted the pilgrims and distributed gifts among them. Then he went to Vāmanasthalī and made a solemn entry into the town, because formerly the jaina pilgrims were prohibited to enter the place (X. 6), probably because of the opposition of Sāṅgaṇa and Cāmuṇḍa, the two brothers-in-law of Viradhavala (para 52). When the pilgrim-caravan reached the vicinity of Dhavalakka, king Viradhavala and a large number of citizens came to receive it. Vastupāla, with his brother Tejapāla and king Viradhavala, "like Śiva in the form of Tripuruṣa" (X. 11), entered the town amidst praises of bards (X. 14-29) and passionate expressions of joy by the women (X. 31-42).

153. The *eleventh canto* is devoted to the good deeds of Vastupāla, and that is perhaps the principal part of the work, judging from its title. It says in the beginning that immediately after Vastupāla was appointed the governor of Stambhatīrtha, he began to build temples, which were like the embodiments of his fame on the earth. The canto enumerates (vv. 2-34) forty-three buildings, restorations and institutions of different kinds. The actual list of Vastupāla's public works must have been still larger, because the Sukṛtasamkīrtana was composed before 1231 A. D. (para 98), and could not have mentioned works undertaken or carried out after that date. Arisimha has given the list in a classified manner, taking note of the public works in different towns, one by one. He mentions the temples, tanks and other structures built and restored in Aṇahilavād, Stam-

the Canarese and Telugu word Golla, meaning 'a shepherd'. In the commentaries on the Jaina canonical works we have frequent references to the Golladeśa, and at one place, we are informed that the famous Cāpakya was born in a village called Canaka in that country (Abhidhāna-Rājendra, vol. II, p. 1011). But we have hardly any evidence to decide the exact location of that region. It is possible that the Gallaka community may have been originally from that country.

bhatīrtha, Dhavalakka, Śatruñjaya, Pādaliapatapura or Pālitanā at the foot of Śatruñjaya, Arkapālita or Amkevalīā, Ujjayanta or Gīrnār, Stambhana or Thāmaṇā in the Kaira district, Darbhāvati or Dabhoi near Baroda, and Ābu.¹ The list mentions the restoration and decoration of a number of Brāhmanical temples too, thus throwing light on the catholicity of outlook of this great philanthropist. In the end, the poet expresses his inability to speak adequately of the vast number of Vastupāla's public works, and completes the poem with a eulogy of his fame.

154. The Sukṛtasamkīrtana cannot bear comparison with the Kīrtikau-mudī from the literary point of view. However, the poet is a good versifier, and has to his credit some good descriptions and pleasing Śabdālaṃkāras, which may be the result of his study of Ālaṃkāra Śāstra. The description of Aṇahilavād, which is more imaginary than actual (I. 10 ff.), the appearance of Kumārapāla in Bhīmadeva's dream and his exhortation to the latter (III. 1 ff), and rising of dust an account of going forth of the Saṃgha (V. 22 ff); beautiful descriptions of the moon-rise (VI) and the six seasons (IX), full of charming alliterations—are some of Arisimha's notable achievements. The dance of the Śrāvaka ladies in the beginning of the sixth canto is nothing but the Garabā dance still prevalent in Gujarāt, and gives a characteristic local touch to the composition—

जिनमहमहिमानं प्रत्यदीयन्त दूरादथ वलयितवृन्दं रासकाः श्राविकाभिः ।
तनुसदननिपण्णकूकाकोलकालस्फुरितदुरितजालत्रासकृत्तारतालम् ॥ (VI. 1)

And description of moon-rise in the same canto :

विरहशिखिसमीरः कामनासीरवीरस्तिमिरतरुकुठारः पूर्वदिक्सारहारः ।
गगनगतिपादी कामिनीचक्रवादी सितरुन्धिरदितोऽथ वर्षयन् वर्षितोयम् ॥ (VI. 16)

Two verses full of charming alliterations describing the beauties of spring :

सितसरोजमुखीमुखवासनासुरभिमयविशेषितसौरभम् ।
परिहृतापरवलिमधुव्रतीधवकुलं बकुलं प्रति धावति ॥
सुमनसां त्वमसि स्थितिभूस्त्वया जयति विश्वमसौ कुसुमायुधः ।
मधुमितीह रसालरसालसा पिकवयः कवयः कवयन्त्यमी ॥ (IX. 5-6).

The Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra

155. Now we come to the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya of Bālacandra, which as pointed out earlier (para 40 and 125), describes the life of Vastupāla. The poem is divided into 14 cantos, and contains 1021 verses in all. At the end of each canto the poet has given one verse in praise of Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, at whose instance he had composed his work (vide para 125).

156. In the *first canto*, after praising the good and censuring the wicked, and dwelling at length on the nectar of poetry, the poet has given his personal history and has described how he was favoured by Sarasvatī. Introducing his hero, he justifies the choice of his subject-matter by saying

1 For details of the public works mentioned in SS, and a comparison of the details with the information derived from other sources, vide Bühler, IA, vol. XXXI, pp. 491 ff.

that "those qualities which resided in Nala, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira are now-a-days seen in Vastupāla, and hence I sing of him" (I. 76). The *second canto* is devoted to a description of Anahillapura, its big gold-knobbed temples, its palace-like buildings, its magnificent fort and the ditch around it, and the Durlabharāja tank. In the *third canto* we are given a history of the kings of Gujarāt from Mūlarāja to Bhīmadeva II, which can be compared with that in the Kirtikaumudī and the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana. Valour of Viradhavala and his ancestors in protecting the state of Gujarāt from anarchy has been praised (III. 37-50). Fortune of the Gurjara kingdom appears in Viradhavala's dream and entreats him to protect her from her sorry plight under the weak rule of Bhīmadeva, and advises him to appoint Vastupāla and Tejapāla as ministers to help him for attaining that end (III. 51-64). It is evident that the whole thing is a direct adaptation of the episode described in the Kirtikaumudī (para 141.)

157. The *fourth canto* describes in hyperbolic terms the high merits of both the ministers, and ends with the appointment of Vastupāla as the governor of Stambhatīrtha. The *fifth canto* narrates Vastupāla's fight with Śaṁkha, and the defeat of the latter, whose precipitate flight back to Bygukachha has been suggested by saying that 'he took his breath only after he reached his native town' (IV. 109). The canto ends with a description of festivities in Stambhatīrtha to commemorate the defeat of the aggressor (IV. 110-11). The three cantos which follow are devoted to traditional descriptions. The *sixth canto* describes the six seasons, the *seventh* is devoted to the descriptions of collection of flowers, pleasures of swinging and the water-sports; and the *eighth canto* to the descriptions of love-sports, and moon-rise.

158. The *ninth canto* says that when Vastupāla went to sleep at night he saw a dream. Dharma, who had only one leg left came to him, and told that he was four-legged in the Kṛtayuga, three-legged in the Tretā, two-legged in the Dvāpara and one-legged in the present Kali age. Dharma says further, "kings Mūlarāja and Sidhharāja propagated me by making pilgrimage to Somanātha; Sidhharāja built a great temple called the Rājavihāra which was like my pleasure-mountain, and gave twelve villages to the holy place of Śatruñjaya to increase my splendour. Gone is that king and also his mother Mayaṇalladevi, who abolished the tax on the pilgrims to Somanātha, which was being collected at Bāhulod (modern Bhoḷād near Dholkā), and instead provided them with food and drink. Kumārapāla made pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār, and built many temples. He repaired the shrines of Kedāra and Someśvara, which were like two horns of mine, described as Vṛṣa (bull). Kumārapāla also repaired the temple of Mūleśvara Mahādeva, built by Mūlarāja at Maṇḍalī. But now that old splendour is gone. Where should the adherents of different schools of philosophy go? I have described only a part of the whole calamity. O great minister! Do act in a way that may remove the affliction of my mind". While Dharma spoke thus, Vastupāla was aroused from his slumber (IX. 1-34). The rest of the canto (IX. 35-60) is devoted to the songs of Vaitālikas, which praise Vastupāla in a poetic language

and describe sunrise at the same time. Coming of Dharma in Vastupāla's dream is a notable feature in this poem. Nowhere else in Jaina literature or mythology Dharma is represented as a bull, who has been left with only one leg in the Kali age. We find this type of description in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I. ch. 16-17), which may have influenced Bālacandra to a certain extent. The Naiṣadhiyacarita (I. 7) also refers to Dharma having four legs in the Kṛtayuga. There was an intimate cultural contact between the Brāhmanical and Jaina scholars at the courts of Aṇahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka, and there is nothing to be wondered at if Bālacandra, who was a Brāhmin before he became a Jaina ascetic (para 124), takes this motif from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and makes its poetic application while delineating the life of Vastupāla. Moreover, we may compare here the songs of Vaitālikas at the end of canto IX with at least two such descriptions from Sanskrit literature—one from the Raghuvamśa (V. 65-76) and the other from the Naiṣadha (XIX), in which while arousing Aja and Nala, respectively, from slumber, the Vaitālikas describe sun-rise at length. The songs of the Vaitālikas in the S'isupālavadha (XI), while they arouse Kṛṣṇa from sleep, also may be compared.

159. *Cantos ten to thirteen* describe at length Vastupāla's pilgrimage, which does not materially differ from the account given in the Kirtikaumudī and the Sukṛtasamkīrtana. In the *fourteenth* canto the poet says that the number of religious places, temples, resting houses, dwelling places for the Brāhmins, and tanks built by Vastupāla at various towns, villages and mountains is so great that it baffles the attempt of poets to count it, like stars in the heaven (XIV. 9-10). Then follows an allegory describing Vastupāla's death, which is of particular interest, because it is not to be found anywhere else: "Once, the old Age, the messenger of Dharma, told Vastupāla that Sadgati (felicity), daughter of Dharma, was longing for him and her parents had decided to marry her to him. Absorbed in her thoughts, Vastupāla was attacked with fever of love, and resolved to go to Śatruñjaya to marry her. This resolve was brought to the notice of Dharma by his servant Āyurbandha or limit of life. Dharma was pleased with the errand and fixing the time for marriage, sent his messenger Sadbodha or good knowledge. The messenger told Vastupāla that Dharma called him on mt. Śatruñjaya for marriage in the morning of Sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of Māgha, in samvat 1296. Vastupāla called his son Jaitrasimha, his wife Lalitādevī, and his brother Tejapāla, and gave them instructions and advice for their guidance. After seeing the king, he set forth for Śatruñjaya. He ascended the hill, and on the day of the marriage the temple of Ādinātha was profusely decorated. Dharma gave his daughter to Vastupāla before Ādinātha, and then took him to heaven, where he was received with exultation by the Lord of heaven".¹ It is quite possible that the poet may have been inspired in preparing this allegory by the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśahpāla,

1 Dalal, intro. to the VV, p. IV.

describing Kumārapāla's marriage to Kṛpāsundarī, the daughter of king Vivekacandra (para 32).

160. Aparājita Kavi has described Bālacandra as 'an adept in the Vaidarbhi style, and spoken very highly of his poetic capacities (see the verse quoted in the beginning of para 123). We may say that the praise is not underserved, because though the life of Vastupāla was made the subject of a Mahākāvya by two previous poets like Someśvara and Arisimha, Bālacandra has acquitted himself quite worthily in writing a third one on the same theme. His language is imbued with a distinct poetic fervour, which gives an imprint of personality to his compositions. His descriptions, though generally long and elaborate, are charming and full of vivid images. Description of Sarasvatī appearing in the poet's Yoganidrā (I. 58-70); description of Aṇahilavālī (II), which is a fine blending of the actual with the imaginative; short but striking description of the port of Stambhatīrtha (III. 17-23); realistic description of the battle with Śamkha, which refers to the actual historical participants in the combat (V)—can be cited as some of the illustrations.

161. A verse put in the mouth of Vastupāla on the eve of his ministerial appointment is a charming example of Śleṣa—

अल्यर्थमर्थमुपदौकितमाद्रियन्ते तं च प्रभूतगुणितं पुनरर्थयन्ति ।
न्यस्ताः पदे समुचिते गमिताश्च मैत्रीं शब्दाः कवेरिव नृपस्य नियोगिनः स्युः ॥
(III. 79)

And the following verse addressed to the king reminds a similar one in the Kīrtikaumudī (III. 77) quoted on p. 93—

न्यायं यदि स्पृशसि लोभमपाकरोषि कर्णेजपानपथिनोपि शमं तनोषि ।
सुखामिनस्तव धृतः शिरसा निदेशस्तन्नूनमेष मयकाऽपरथाऽस्तु भद्रम् ॥
(III. 80)

Crushing rejoinder to the messenger of Śamkha, who suggested Vastupāla to come in the former's service—

क्षत्रियाः समरकेलिरहस्यं जानते न वणिजो भ्रम एषः ।
अम्बडो वणिगपि प्रधने किं मल्लिकार्जुननृपं न जघान ॥
दूत रे वणिगहं रणहट्टे विश्रुतोऽसितुल्या कलयामि ।
मौलिभाण्डपटलानि रिपूणां स्वर्गवैतनमथो वितरामि ॥
(IV. 42-43)

A fine poetic fancy—

यौवनं चलमुपैति नो गतं विग्रहैरलमुपास्यतां प्रियः ।
इत्यवोचदिव शङ्कृतैर्वधूपादयोरभिनिपत्य नूपुरः ॥
(VIII. 45)

Description of meeting of river Sarasvatī and the ocean at Somanātha Pāṭaṇ—

सरस्वतीवारिधिबीचिहस्तसञ्चारितैर्यस्य पुरः पुरस्य
परस्परश्लेषविभेदवद्भिश्चामर्यमाचर्यत फेनकूटेः ॥
तीरस्फुटन्तीरकदम्बकेन बहिः सदा गर्जति यत्र वाड्यौ ।
वृथैव सोमेशपिनाकिनोऽग्रे त्रिधूपवेलापटहप्रपन्नः ॥
(XI. 33-34)

The Dharmābhyudaya or Saṁghapaticarita of Udayaprabhasūri

162. The Dharmābhyudaya or Saṁghapaticarita of Udayaprabhasūri is another Kāvya in which we find Vastupāla as a character. I have taken it last in this section on the historical Mahākāvya, because only its two cantos—first and last—contain matter which is historical, while the rest is devoted to Dharmakathās based on Jaina mythology. The Dharmābhyudaya is divided into 15 cantos and at the end of each canto a few laudatory verses in praise of Vastupāla are appended, the Granthāgra of the whole work being 5041 ślokas.

163. The *first canto* begins with salutation to Jina, and then praises the knowledge, scholarship and poetic merits of Gautama, the disciple of Mahāvīra, Haribhadra, Sidhhasena Divākara, Hemacandra, Naracandra and Vijayasena; speaks about the greatness of the Saṁgha or the four-fold Jaina community comprising the Sādhu, Sādhvī, Śrāvaka and Śrāvikā and eulogizes the greatness of Vastupāla. After this the poet has mentioned in one verse (I. 17) the name of his work, and given the genealogy of his spiritual preceptors (I. 18–25), right upto Vijayasenasūri. Then Vastupāla is described as going to Vijayasena to hear religious instruction. The teacher tells him about three kinds of Prabhāvanā Dharma, viz. Aṣṭāhnikā festival, Rathayātrā and Saṁghayātrā, and instructs about the ceremonials to be observed while doing the Saṁghayātrā (I. 48–106).

164. Then the Ācārya narrates to Vastupāla several Dharmakathās to illustrate the religious merits to be attained by doing good to others, observing celibacy and being merciful to other creatures. Cantos II–XIV are devoted to such Kathās taken from the Jaina mythology. Cantos II–VI describe the life of the first Tirthaṅkara Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādinātha and also of his sons Bharata and Bāhubali, ending with the Nirvāṇa of Bharata. The *sixth canto* gives a history of the Yakṣa Kapardin, the guardian deity of Śatruṅjaya, and dilates on the greatness of the temple built there by Bharata and later on repaired by great men of the past, like Sagara Cakravartin, Rāmacandra, Jāvaḍa, Śilāditya, and Āsuka and Bāhaḍa, ministers of Sidhharāja and Kumārapāla, respectively (VI. 67–83). This account, though in the nature of a digression, is quite suitable in a work, the ultimate aim of which is to describe a great pilgrimage to Śatruṅjaya. The *eighth canto* contains a life of Jambusvāmin, who had taken the religious vow on the first night after marriage, having abandoned the eight beautiful wives, and the *ninth canto* gives the story of a prince Yugabāhu to eulogize the fruits of penance. The cantos X–XIV describe at great length the life of Neminātha, the 22nd Tirthaṅkara, from his previous births upto his Nirvāṇa, the Granthāgra of these five cantos being 2142 ślokas. Contemporary history, again, comes into prominence in the *fifteenth canto*, which describes the pilgrimage thus inspired by the religious instructions of Vijayasenasūri. After the coming down of the Saṁgha from Śatruṅjaya, two stations are mentioned which are not referred to by any Kāvya treated before—they are Ajāhara Nagara¹ and Koṭinagara

1 Ajāhara is at present a small village near Unā in Southern Saurāṣṭra.

(modern Kōḍinār on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra) (XV. 12). Verses 25–31 give a list of public works of Vastupāla, which is supported by other contemporary writings. At the end, the author gives a Praśasti supplying a genealogical list of the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha, to which he belonged (vide para 111).

165. The poem has been characterized by the word Lakṣmī, occurring in the concluding verse of each canto, and has been called Lakṣmīyāṁka in the colophons. To characterise their poems by words which were lofty and auspicious was a well-established convention among the Sanskrit and Prakrit poets, and in this connection I may point out that the Kirātārjuniya of Bhāravi is characterized by the word Lakṣmī, and Śiśupālavadha of Māgha by the word Śrī, the Setubandha of Pravarasena by Anurāya (skt. Anurāga), the Haravijaya of Ratnākara by Ratna, etc.

166. The Dharmābhyudaya is called a Mahākāvya in the colophons at the end of each canto;¹ we do not know if the colophons are from the pen of the author or from that of Vastupāla who copied it; but the contents of the work noted above would show that technically it cannot be called a Mahākāvya, as it does not conform to the rules laid down for such a composition. Really speaking, this is a Caritra or biographical account as its alternative title, viz. Saṁghapaticaritra, suggests. Among the Jainas there was a tradition of composing the Caritras of historical as well as mythological personages, in the simple Purāṇa style, the principal metre being the Anuṣṭup; such poems, including those comprising the lives of the Tirthaṁkaras were sometimes called the Mahākāvyas, the title probably signifying the lives of the great or the compositions which can be considered great from religious point of view. We cannot say that such works were called Mahākāvyas through ignorance of the technique of the literary Mahākāvya, because the lives of Tirthaṁkaras written by well-known scholars like Māṇikyacandra are called Mahākāvyas, though they do not conform to the rules laid down by Daṇḍin and others (para 182).

167. The Dharmābhyudaya is a collection of several Kathās including the lives of two Tirthaṁkaras, and the bulk of it has been written in easy, flowing, but at the same time matter of fact style, which does not give much scope to long descriptions and other poetic luxuries. This style is affected in a number of Kathā-works written by the mediaeval Jaina authors both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, in which the aim is to narrate rather than to describe.²

SECTION II

MYTHOLOGICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Surathotsava of Someśvara

168. In this section it will be convenient to treat first of the Surathotsava Mahākāvya of Someśvara, because though its theme has been taken from

1 e. g. इति श्रीविजयसेनसुरिशिष्यश्रीउदयप्रभसुरिविरचिते श्रीधर्माभ्युदयनाम्नि संधपतिचरिते लक्ष्म्यङ्गे महाकाव्ये तीर्थयात्राविधिवर्णनो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

2 For an account of some such works, vide Hertel, On Narrative Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujaraṭ.

mythology, it has a political and historical significance. It gives the story of king Suratha contained in the *Saptaśati* or *Devīmāhātmya* in the *Adhyāyas* 81-93 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, but presumably hints at the same time at political misfortune and re-establishment of the power of king Bhīmadeva II, as suggested before (para 48 and 75).

169. The *Surathotsava* is divided in 15 cantos containing 1082 verses in all. In the *first canto* the poet pays his homage to various deities, devoting the first five stanzas to Bhavānī or Durgā. He then renders his obeisance to him who "in the temple of his poem placed the image of the fame of Rāma" and to "the son of Satyavati" as well as to their works, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Several other poets are also mentioned with admiration—Guṇādhya, the author of the *Bṛhatkathā*, Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Māgha and Murāri. In the words of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given an excellent summary of the *Surathotsava* in one of his reports, "the poet then devotes a good many stanzas to such general subjects as poetry, good men, wicked men, etc., and afterwards introduces his hero Suratha to his readers. The *first canto* ends with the mention of his *Viśvavijaya* or conquest of the world. At the beginning of the *second canto*, some of Suratha's counsellors are represented to have played into the hands of his enemies, who with their assistance vanquished him and deprived him of his kingdom. Suratha then betook himself to a forest, where he met a Muni or sāge to whom he recounted his misfortunes. He advised him to have recourse to austere practices (*tapas*) in order to propitiate Bhavānī and narrated the glorious deeds of that goddess. Śumbha and Niśumbha had obtained from Brahmadeva the boon of freedom from death at the hands of any but a woman, and through the virtue of that boon they made themselves all-powerful and oppressed all creatures. The gods thereupon went to Brahmadeva and laid their complaints before him. Brahmadeva explained to them the nature of the boon the demon had received, and advised the gods to go to Umā or Bhavānī and entreat her to kill Śumbha. Thus ends the *third canto*.

170. "The Gods then went to the *Himālayas*, a description of which in accordance with the orthodox rules of poetry constitutes the *fourth canto*. A description of the seasons, all of which came to wait upon the gods in the course of their march, follows in the *fifth*, and a description of moon-rise in the *sixth*. The *seventh canto* opens with a description of a sun-rise and then Bhavānī is represented as going out to gather flowers. Then she goes to the *Gaṅgā* to bathe, and as she is returning the gods see her from a distance and sing her praises. They then lay their complaints before her and implore her to kill the *Daitya Śumbha*. She allays their fears and promises to destroy the demon. In the *eighth canto*, Bhavānī transforms herself into a beautiful maiden and resides on a peak of the *Himālayas*. The report spreads that a beautiful maiden has appeared on the *Himālayas*, and reached the ears of Śumbha. He sends a person to propose to her a marriage with himself. Bhavānī tells the messenger that she has vowed that that man only shall be her husband who will fight with her while she is riding a lion.

The messenger goes back to S'umbha and informs him of this. S'umbha wonders at the woman's oddity and sends a demon of the name of Dhumralocana to induce her to give up what she called her vow, and, if she remained still obstinate, to use force and bring her away. Dhumralocana goes to Bhavāni and while about to execute his master's commands, he is reduced to ashes by the power of the goddess. Then in the *ninth canto* S'umbha is represented as marching against Umā in person with a large army; the fight between them is described in the *tenth*, and the death of S'umbha in the *eleventh*.

171. "Having heard of this glorious deed of Bhavāni from the mouth of the Muni, Suratha makes up his mind to propitiate her by the severest austerities. These are described in the *twelfth canto*; and in the *thirteenth*, Pārvatī sends a beautiful woman to test his firmness, but he is proof against her blandishments and goes on with his religious exercises. Then in the *fourteenth*, Bhavāni is pleased and manifests herself to Suratha; she pronounces a benediction, and promises his supreme sovereignty for a thousand years and the dignity of the eighth Manu, after the present or seventh is over, in a future life. In the meanwhile, such of the counsellors of Suratha as were faithful to him destroyed those who had acted as traitors and sent men in all directions to trace him out. One of them reached at last the forest where Suratha had been practising austerities and gave intelligence of his being there to the counsellors. They then went to the place with a large number of followers and conducted Suratha to his capital, where he enjoyed supreme sovereignty in accordance with the promise of Umā."¹ In the *fifteenth canto* Someśvara gives the history of his family and his own and at the end devotes a few verses to the praise of Vastupāla. I have already given a summary of this canto in the fifth chapter (para 69-71).

172. If Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī is written in the Vaidarbhī style, his Surathotsava tries to affect the Gauḍī style, and his model there seems to be the Kirātārjuniya and Śīsupālavadha rather than the works of Kālidāsa. Though the language of the Surathotsava is simple in comparison with these two difficult masterpieces of Sanskrit poetry, it abounds in Śleṣas, in the use of rare and uncommon words and the Śabdālaṃkāras. The tenth canto, which describes the fight between the goddess and the demon is full of all kinds of Citrakāvya, just like the 15th canto of the Kirātārjuniya and the 19th canto of the Śīsupālavadha, which are also devoted to the description of fight and contain the Citrakāvya. It appears that there was a tradition among the writers of Mahākāvya, which delighted in describing the fights by means of various kinds of Citrakāvya, though these were really speaking an obstacle to the proper depicting of the tumultuous and rapid action of a battle.

173. The poetic merits of the author of the Kīrtikaumudī are conspicuous even in this poem. Some of Someśvara's descriptions here are such as can be compared with the best ones in the Kīrtikaumudī. The description of God

1 Bhandarkar, Report IV, pp. 19-20

Brahman when the other gods wait upon him to present the account of their plight (III), and that of the grandeur of the Himālayas—full of alliterations and puns (IV)—in which the poet may have been inspired to some extent by the first canto of the Kumārasambhava, can be pointed out as illustrations. The cantos IV and X are also notable, which are devoted to the descriptions of the six seasons and battle-scenes, respectively,

174. I may quote here few verses illustrating Someśvara's poetic art in the Surathotsava. When Suratha, deserted by his ministers, enters the woodlands the poet gives a good example of Dhvanikāvya—

विशन् वनादेव वनान्तराणि सान्द्रद्रुमश्रेणिनिरन्तराणि ।
भाति स भिन्नाञ्जनसंनिभानि घनादिवेन्दुर्वनमण्डलानि ॥

(II. 18)

Though the poem generally follows the difficult poetic models of Bhāravi and Māgha, at some places we get a fine blending of simplicity and real poetry. As for example, spring in the description of six seasons—

कटाक्षिता कैरपि चुम्बिता परैः कृतोपभोगा मधुपैश्च कैश्चन ।
मधु क्षरन्ती विरराज माधवी नवीनरूपा गणिकेव कामिभिः ॥

(V. 10)

Autumn:

जलं प्रसन्नं जलदा निवर्तिताः प्रवर्तिताश्चाध्वनि साधुसिन्धवः ।
गदाधरः स्वापपरः प्रबोधितः शरद्दिनैर्मिलतोच्चितं कृतम् ॥

(V. 39)

Beginning of spring:

लभन्ते सौभाग्यं किमपि हरिणाङ्गस्य किरणाः
पिकाः शब्दायन्ते स्वगतममृतस्यन्दि च तदा ।
चलत्यथ श्रो वा पवनपृतना चन्दनगिरे-
रवाम् कामस्य स्फुरति च शुभाशंसि नयनम् ॥

(V. 56)¹

It is generally believed that there is no clear mention of glass-bangles in Sanskrit literature;² but it is noteworthy that VI. 105 expressly refers to glass-bangles worn by women—

का च काचवल्यावलिशब्दैराजुहाव हृदयं दयितास ।

which shows that the ornament was fairly common in Gujarāt in the times of Someśvara.

1 This verse is also found in the UR, II. 31.

2 "I have not come across any definite reference in Sanskrit literature to the use of the glass-bangles, but I think that they began to be used sometime about 8th-9th century, i. e. in the early mediaeval period. Their use seems to have been brought by the foreign tribes like the Hūnas and the Gurjaras coming from Central Asia"—Dr. V. S. Agrawala quoted by Prof. Gode, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. I, p. 16.

It may be noted here that the word स्फटिक also sometimes has been taken in Sanskrit as meaning glass; as for example, स्फटिकवलय referred to in the Yaśastilaka of Somadeva (951 A. D.) has been translated by

The Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla

175. The Naranārāyaṇānanda is a Mahākāvya composed by Vastupāla. Its subject-matter is taken from the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata and it describes the friendship of Nara and Nārāyaṇa or Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the Raivataka park and the carrying away of Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā by Arjuna. The poetic model of the author is Māgha and to a certain extent Bhāravi. In the compositions of these two master-poets as well as in that of Vastupāla, the theme is taken from the Mahābhārata, the subject-matter is very scanty and large portions of the poems are taken up by conventional descriptions such as those of the city, the king and his court, the rise of the sun and the moon and gathering of flowers, and on certain occasions by lengthy dialogues. All the three poets have affected a style, ornate and more artificial than artistic for the modern taste, though in this respect Vastupāla is comparatively simple than his predecessors. Like Bhāravi and Māgha, Vastupāla also has devoted one whole canto (XIV) to the description of a fight by means of various kinds of Citrakāvyas, and all the forty verses in that canto represent so many varieties of the Citrakāvyas, some of them very rare even in the realm of ornate Sanskrit poetry.

176. The Naranārāyaṇānanda is divided in 16 cantos, comprising 794 verses in all. It begins without any formal salutation to any deity, like the Kumārasambhava, the Kirātārjuniya, and the Śiśupālavadha and the Naiṣadha. The *first canto* describes the city of Dvārakā, the capital of Kṛṣṇa, and the *second* describes Kṛṣṇa's assembly and his coming there. Then the keeper of the Raivataka garden comes and presents him with flowers and informs that Arjuna is staying in the garden. Kṛṣṇa becomes eager to see his dear friend, and in the *third canto* he comes to the Raivataka and embraces Arjuna. Both the friends sit in a pleasure-grove and talk. The *fourth canto* describes the six seasons which simultaneously held their sway in the Raivataka, and then the moon rises as if to have a look at both these friends. The following three cantos (V-VII) are devoted to the descriptions of sun-set, moon-rise, drinking and love-sports, setting of the moon and the sun-rise. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa spent the whole night in conversation. In the *eighth canto* Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛṣṇa goes to Raivataka, and the poet takes the opportunity to give a description of his army. The *cantos ninth and tenth* describe the flowers and the water-sports. Beautiful Subhadrā was seen by Arjuna as she was returning from her bath, and both were mutually attracted by love. Then Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa enter Dvāravātī. The *eleventh canto* describes Arjuna's pangs

Prof. Handiqui as meaning 'glass-bangle' (Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 123). It is difficult to say whether the meaning of the word रक्तिक was extended to denote glass as distinct from natural crystal, which is its usual meaning in Sanskrit. So our contention that the quotation from the Surathotsava contains the earliest indubitable reference so far discovered to glass-bangles under the name काचवलय still holds good.

of separation, when a lady messenger of love comes and informs him about Subhadra's condition, who was equally love-smitten. Arjuna reads the love-letter sent by Subhadra and sends a word to her that she should meet him in the Raivataka park. The *twelfth canto* describes Subhadra going to Raivataka for worshipping Kāmadeva, when Arjuna carries her away. The watch-men inform Baladeva, who moved by anger taunts Kṛṣṇa about the behaviour of his dear friend, to which Kṛṣṇa replies that Arjuna is a worthy bridegroom for Subhadra, and she is also deeply in love with him, and hence there was no cause for Baladeva to become angry. The *cantos thirteenth and fourteenth* describe the fierce battle between the Yādava army on the one hand and Arjuna on the other. But in the end Kṛṣṇa intervenes, stops the fight and takes Arjuna back to Dvārakā. The *fifteenth canto* describes the decorations and festive scenes in Dvārakā, and the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadra. In the last and the *sixteenth canto* the poet gives an autobiographical account beginning from his ancestor Candapa, and ends the work with the following verse expressing humility:

उद्गास्वद्विश्वविद्यालयमयमनसः कोविदेन्द्रा वितन्द्रा
मन्त्री बद्धाञ्जलिर्वो विनयनतशिरा याचते वस्तुपालः ।
स्वरूपप्रज्ञाप्रबोधदपि सपदि मया कल्पितेऽस्मिन् प्रवन्द्ये
भूयो भूयोऽपि यूयं जनयत नयनक्षेपतो दोषमोषम् ॥

Some poet patronized by Vastupāla has appended one or two verses in his praise at the end of each canto. The number of such verses is 18 in all.

177. The Naranārāyaṇānanda appears to have established itself in the poetic world within a short time after its composition, as the sixth verse of its first canto is quoted in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlāṇa (vide para 64), and one more verse (XIV. 16) is to be found in the Kāvyaakalpalatā (p. 103) of Amaracandrasūri. As we have seen, the bulk of the poem is taken up by conventional descriptions, but even there the poetic distinction does not remain concealed, and there are a number of poetic flashes which remind us of beautiful verses from Bhāravi and Māgha, and even the poem as a whole maintains a certain level, which is not to be commonly found in the authors of the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas during the mediaeval times. Suggesting beautifully the apparent contradictions in Kṛṣṇa's character the poet says:

पुण्ये मित्राण्यपि निर्ममोऽसौ गतस्पृहो राज्यमपि प्रतेने ।
अद्यान शत्रून्पि शान्तचेताः प्रभुः प्रजेकार्यकृतावतारः ॥

(I. 42)

And the meeting of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in Raivataka after a very long time:

उरसि रसिकयोस्तयोः प्रमोदाद् दृढपरिरम्भविभिन्नभूषणेऽपि ।
द्वुतमतनुत तारहारलक्ष्मीं सितरन्विविन्दुरिताश्रुविन्दुपङ्क्तिः ॥

(III. 11)

A fine fancy about the disappearance of darkness at the time of sunrise:

नक्तं निरंकुशतया कुशसूचिभेद्यो यः सर्वतस्मिन्वनेऽपि ममौ कथञ्चित् ।
माति स सोऽपि दृशि धूकविहङ्गमस्य भानोर्भवाद् हागिति सङ्कुचितोऽन्धकारः ॥

(VII. 35)

The forceful warning of Baladeva to Arjuna when the latter was carrying away Subhadra:

रे चौर यदि सौजन्यं तादृक्षमपि विस्मृतम् ।
तस्मिन् मे वामपादोऽपि विस्मृतोऽरिक्पालमित्र ॥

(XII. 37)

At another place, Subhadra's braid of hair hanging on her breast is described as the Divya (or ordeal to decide guilt or otherwise of a suspect) called Ghaṭa-sarpa¹ of king cupid:

द्रुततरमपरस्या जालगर्भं गताया ललितलुलितवेणिः पीवरश्रीरुरोजे ।
शतमखसुतकायच्छायचौर्यापवादादघटत घटसर्पो मन्मथस्त्रेव दिव्यम् ॥

(XV. 21)

The Bālabhārata of Amaraśāstrī

178. The Bālabhārata of Amaraśāstrī is a sort of epitome, in its subject-matter, of the famous Mahābhārata, as its very name suggests. The author has called it a Mahākāvya, and being characterized by the word *Vīra* at the end of each canto, this poem as well as his Padmānanda Mahākāvya are known as *Vīramkā*. Like its prototype, the Bālabhārata is divided into 18 Parvans, each of which is further subdivided into one or more cantos, the sum total being 44, including the last canto which gives the *Prasasti*. The Granthāgra of the whole work, as given in the last verse of the last canto is 6950 slokas. The author has so arranged the work as to look like a Mahākāvya, adhering to certain technicalities laid down by the writers on poetics, though the subject-matter of the Mahābhārata is too bulky to be condensed in a single Mahākāvya. In the beginning of every canto except the last, the author has devoted one verse to the praise of Vyāsa, thus praising him 43 times in 43 verses, a fact which shows his great respect for the author of the original epic. The *seventh canto* of the Ādiparvan is devoted to the description of the spring and *cantos eight to eleven* to collection of flowers and water-sports, moon-rise, drinking and love-sports, etc. The *twelfth canto* gives a splendid description of the Khāṇḍava-forest, which was burnt by Arjuna. We find description of seasons in the *fourth canto* of the Sabhāparvan, and that of fights in the Droṇa and Bhīṣmaparvans. The author has depicted the sentiment of pathos in the Strīparvan, when the women of the Kaurava family are mourning the loss of their kith and kin.

179. But inspite of all these efforts to present the work as a Mahākāvya, it is more of an outline summary of the story of the Mahābhārata rather than a real Mahākāvya of the literary type. In compressing the original, Amaraśāstrī has concentrated on the story-part of the Mahābhārata, almost omitting its didactic and religious matter. That is why the Parvans from the

1 In the ordeal Ghaṭasarpa a suspect was forced to put his hand in a pitcher in which there is a serpent. The PK (p. 125) informs us that king Viśaladeva wished that Vastupāla should pass through that ordeal as the latter was suspected by him of mismanaging the state-revenue, but the king was checked by Lavaṇaprasāda, who was living at that time,

Ādi to the Udyoga are given a considerable space, while the Śanti and the Anusāsana Parvans which are the main didactic and religious portions of the Mahābhārata are allotted only one canto each. The story of all the latter Parvans is also told very briefly. Though the work of a jaina ascetic, the Bālabhārata was very well-known in the Brāhmanical literary world, and that popularity is to be accounted for by the fact that this poetical synopsis of the famous epic, though faithfully following the original, is an independent Kāvya at the same time.

The Padmānanda Mahākāvya of Amaracandrasūri

180. The Padmānanda Mahākāvya or Jinendracarita is another work of Amaracandra, which is midway between a Mahākāvya in the technical sense and a religious Caritra. The work has for its subject the mythical account of the first Jaina Tīrthamkara Ādinātha. It is divided into 19 cantos, and its Grānthāgāra is 6281 śloka.¹ The religious Caritras generally prefer one principal metre, viz. Anuṣṭup, while this work has tried all the well-known metres of classical Sanskrit poetry in the style of the Mahākāvya and has devoted one whole canto (XI) to the description of the seasons. In addition to the life of Ādinātha, the hero, it includes a number of legends and anecdotes, religious and philosophical discourses and discussions, which reveal its character as a sectarian work. In spite of the didactic material it does not lack poetic quality. The author, in this Kāvya, appears to be particularly fond of the Arthāntaranyāsas, and we find a number of verses which would be highly prized as Subhāsitās.² The author shows a mastery over classical Sanskrit and its literary diction.

Caturvīṃśati-Jinendra-Saṃkṣipta-Caritāni by Amaracandra

181. It would be apposite here to treat of the Caturvīṃśati-Jinendra-Saṃkṣipta-Caritāni, though it is neither a Mahākāvya nor a long Caritra of one Tīrthamkara. If the Padmānanda Mahākāvya is an account of the first Jina, this work supplies short accounts of all the 24 Jinas, including the first, and as such forms as if an appendix to the former, though composed before it (para 106). It is divided into 24 chapters and comprises 1802 śloka in all. The author has to treat of all the Jinas in a short space and naturally he does not get scope for any poetic luxuries. The main topics treated in every chapter, that is, in case of every Jina, may be outlined as under: (1) The previous birth or births, (2) the parentage, (3) explanation of the proper name given to the Tīrthamkara, (4) the days of entering the embryo, birth, renunciation and salvation, (5) the height of the Caitya-vṛkṣa, (6) the Parivāra consisting of the Gaṇadharas (apostles), male and female ascetics, those conversant with the 14 Pūrvas, those having the Avadhi-Jñāna and the Maṇaḥpar-yava-Jñāna, the Kevalins, those endowed with the Vaikriya-labdhi (power to

JRK, p. 234.

Vide Kapadia, intro. to the Padmānanda Mahākāvya, p. 15n., where a number of illustrations are given.

change the form of body), experts in polemics, the devoted house-holders of both sexes etc., and (7) the duration of life with the specification of the periods passed as a youth, a crown-prince, a ruler (where possible), a Chadmastha (one who is imperfect) and an omniscient being.¹

The S'āntināthacaritra and Pārśvanāthacaritra of Māṇikyacandra

182. Lastly, we come to the poetical compositions of Māṇikyacandra viz. his S'āntināthacaritra and Pārśvanāthacaritra, which are called Mahākāvyas in the colophons of the manuscript copies², according to the tradition among the jainas which many a times referred to the religious Caritras as the Mahākāvyas, as mentioned before (para 166). S'āntinātha is the 16th Tīrthamkara, while Pārśvanātha is the 23rd, and the lives of these two Jinas along with those of several others, viz. Ādinātha, Neminātha and Mahāvira, form the most popular literary themes for the Jaina poets, and a large number of poems both in Sanskrit and Prakrit have been written about these two Jinas.³ Both the works are not printed as yet, and are available only in manuscript-form. The S'āntināthacaritra is divided into eight cantos and its Granthāgra is 5574 ślokaś,⁴ while the Pārśvanāthacaritra has nine cantos having the Granthāgra of 5278 ślokaś.⁵ The bulk of both the works is devoted to the previous births of Jinas (6 cantos in former work, while 4 cantos in the latter). The narrative of these poems generally follows the fifth and ninth Paryans of the Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacaritra of Hemacandra, which gave, respectively, the lives of these two Tīrthamkaras, and also the relevant portions of the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena and Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra. Both the works are written in the simple Purāṇa style, the principal metre being Anuṣṭup, and the legend of these two Jinas forms the frame-work into which numerous stories, fables and fairy-tales are inserted in the manner so familiar in Indian narrative literature. In no way do the contents conform to the technical requirements of the Mahākāvya, but being the compositions of a renowned scholar like Māṇikyacandra these two works present good examples of Jaina narrative poetry.

1 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 36.

2 e. g. इत्याचार्यश्रीमाणिक्यचन्द्रविरचिते श्रीशान्तिनाथचरिते महाकाव्ये तपोभावनाकथाचक्रायुध-
गणभृन्निर्वाणवर्णनो नाम अष्टमः सर्गः समाप्तः । (PBC, p. 205.)

Almost similar colophons mentioning the work as a Mahākāvya are also found at the end of each canto of the Pārśvanāthacaritra.

3 JRK, pp. 244-46 and 378-81.

4 Ibid, p. 380.

5 Ibid, p. 244-45.

CHAPTER VII

PLAYS

Characteristics of Sanskrit drama

183. Drama is another popular form of Sanskrit literature, which is considered to be the highest poetic achievement of Sanskrit authors. It can show a continuous history of more than twenty centuries, from the times of Aśvaghosa upto the most recent times. The earliest form of dramatic literature in India is represented by the Ṛgveda-dialogues between Saramā and Paṇi, Yama and Yamī, Viśvāmitra and the rivers, Pururavas and Urvaśī etc., the last one being the first version of the Pururavas-Urvaśī story, which forms the subject-matter of a famous play by Kālidāsa, viz. his Vikramorvaśīya. Oldest references to the acted drama are to be found in the Mahābhāṣya (about 120 B. C.), which mentions the performance of Kāmsavadha or slaying of Kāmsa and Balibandha or binding of Bali, two episodes from the life of Viṣṇu. From this and from several other references it is believed that the Sanskrit drama was developed in connection with the cult of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, and that the earliest acted representations were, therefore, like the mysteries of the Christian middle ages.¹ That the drama had a rich and varied development in India is also attested by the fact that in addition to a large number of plays there are a number of elaborate treatises on dramaturgy and acting, the oldest being the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (circa 300 A. D.). The Sanskrit drama is generally divided into two varieties—Rūpaka and Uparūpaka. The Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvānātha (circa 1450 A.D.) divides the Rūpaka into ten varieties and the Uparūpaka into eighteen.

184. The number of acts in a play varies from one to ten. The variety known as Nāṭikā has four acts, while the minor dramatic types like Prahāsana, Bhāṇa etc. have only one act. Every Sanskrit play begins with a prologue, which opens with Nāndī or benediction invoking the favour of God for the welfare of the audience. Then follows a dialogue between the Sūtradhāra or stage-manager and one or two actors, which gives some information about the play and its author, and introduces at the end, one of the characters of the plot in a particularly dramatic situation. The stage does not remain vacant until the end of the act and no change in locality takes place until then. Before a new act begins, sometimes an interlude known as the Viṣkambhaka or Praveśaka is inserted, which makes the audience aware of the events which occurred during the interval between the two acts, and mentally prepares them for the events which are to occur. The play closes with a Bharatavākya or the prayer for general prosperity and it is put in the mouth of one of the principal elderly characters of the play. The Sanskrit play is a mixed composition containing prose-dialogues and lyrical verses. The dialogues are sometimes very commonplace serving only to introduce lofty lyrical stanzas, which describe the scenes, situations or personalities or sometimes contain high

1 Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 347.

reflections. It is also well-known that different characters in a Sanskrit play speak different dialects according to their social position. Heroes, kings, Brāhmins, and other men of high social status speak Sanskrit, while Prākṛit is spoken by women and also by men of lower social status. Even in case of Prākṛit, its different sub-dialects are employed for those persons, according to the rules prescribed in the Nāṭyaśāstra. The story is always terminated happily, and there is no tragedy as such in Sanskrit drama. Not only that, nothing deeply tragic, e. g. death, is allowed to occur on the stage.¹ The texts on dramaturgy allow nothing very harsh or indecorous on the stage, and the audience never witnesses such things like the utterance of a curse, fighting, kissing, eating and sleeping.

185. Though the number of the extant Sanskrit plays can be counted by several hundreds, the best specimens which number not more than twenty, are from the pen of the ancient masters like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Viśākhadatta, Harṣa and Bhavabhūti. Many of the later authors have taken some composition of one of these older writers as a model, and thus have more or less imitated the creations of a more vital dramatic tradition. Even when the creative period in the history of Sanskrit drama as well as literature in general came to an end by the early mediaeval times, the scholastic traditions were zealously maintained, and theory and practice of drama were being cultivated at the royal courts and under the patronage of the richer section of the society. As already pointed out in the first chapter, not only were a number of dramas composed and performed in Gujarāt of the Caulukya period, but Hemacandra also wrote on dramatic theory in the eighth chapter of his Kāvyaanūsāsana and his pupil Rāmacandra, who was himself a dramatist, wrote the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, a voluminous work on dramaturgy. During the times of Vastupāla, i. e. in the later Caulukya period also this tradition continued, and we know about five plays composed by the poets in the literary circle of Vastupāla, out of which one, viz. the Kākutsthakeli of Narendraprabhasūri is not extant. We shall make here a critical survey of the remaining four.

The Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara

186. First we take the Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara, a play in eight acts, dramatizing the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The only available manuscript of this very rare work, which has remained almost unknown to the students of the Sanskrit drama, is preserved in the Bombay Government collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (no. 343 of 1884-86), and even in that, eleven folios in all (1-5, 18, 39, 40, 71, 73 and 87) are missing. Thus we miss the historically very important prologue in this manuscript, but I was fortunate enough to get that portion from a copy of the work made by the late Mr. T. M. Tripāṭhī of Bombay, who had taken down the whole of the Poona manuscript, but had supple-

¹ Though this has been a general rule in the later Sanskrit drama, it appears that in earlier plays like the Urubhaṅga of Bhāsa, the convention was not observed, for we find Duryodhana dying on the stage in that short drama.

mented the missing section from some other manuscript, which I was unable to discover from his private collection.¹ The Granthāgra of the play is 2100 ślokaś, as is noted in a later hand on the last folio of the Poona manuscript.

187. Looking to the contents of the play—in act I, after the Nāndī, Śātānanda, the Purohita of Janaka, refers to the grief of the king that his daughter Sītā will now be separated from him, that is, the play begins after the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. Daśaratha and his two sons and Sītā take Janaka's leave and start for their capital. After a while the chamberlain Haridatta informs how, on the way, angry Paraśurāma was pacified by Rāma, and Janaka goes to inform the inmates of the harem about this great success of his son-in-law. From a Viśkambhaka in the beginning of act II, containing a dialogue between two servants, we know that Daśaratha has decided to install Rāma as the king and has called for his Purohita Vasiṣṭha. Then Rāma and Sītā, with the garden-keeper, move about the pleasure-garden and the pleasure-pond, and enjoy the beauty of the place. Meanwhile Daśaratha calls Rāma and bids him to remain ready to take charge of the onerous duties of state-affairs. It is the time of evening, and the stanzas of the Vaitālikas describing the evening twilight are heard from the back-ground. The chamberlain informs Daśaratha that queen Kaikeyī requests him to come to her place. Before going there, the king again tells Rāma to remain ready for the coronation-ceremony. In act III, from the conversation of two maid-servants it is inferred that Kaikeyī has decided to obtain two gifts from the king which the latter had promised her some time ago, and that one was the banishment of Rāma and the other was the coronation of Bharata in his place. Then Rāma drives in state to the palace, witnessing the festivities in the city, but coming to the residence of Kaikeyī, he and Sumantra find the old king vainly attempting to persuade the queen, so that she may not insist upon her demands. The king faints when he sees Rāma. At this juncture enter Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Sītā, and are stunned to know the turn which the events have taken. Angry Lakṣmaṇa enters with drawn bow, asking who is bold enough to banish Rāma. But Rāma pacifies him, and bidding farewell to all retires to the forest, and grief prevails in the whole kingdom.

188. The whole of act IV is utilized for supplying information regarding the events that occurred after the banishment of Rāma. The act is devoted to the aerial travel and conversation of two Gandharvas—Kumudāṅgada and his son Kanakacūḍa. We know that Daśaratha is dead; Bharata follows Rāma to Citrakūṭa, but there he is prevailed upon by Rāma to return to Ayodhyā for the protection of the people; Rāma has killed the demon Virāḍa; and in the end, he expresses a desire to go to the southern direction. Act V has a Viśkambhaka in the beginning, in which the audience know from the soliloquy of Mārīca that Rāvaṇa wants to take his help in the abduction of Sītā and that the ears and nose of Sūrpanakhā were cut by Lakṣmaṇa and

¹ For some quotations from the prologue of the Ullāgharāghava supplied by Mr. Tripāthi to Mr. C. D. Dalal, first general editor of the Gaekwad's Oriental series, vide the Vasant (Guj.), Vol. XIV, p. 191.

also that the demons residing in the Janasthāna were killed. Then enters Rāvaṇa and forcibly carries away Sītā. Jaṭāyu, king of the vultures, comes to Sītā's help, and fights with Rāvaṇa, but he is not successful, and from the speech of Ghorākṣa, Rāvaṇa's attendant, we know that Jaṭāyu is fatally wounded. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, not finding Sītā in the hut, start for her search, and know the details of her carrying away from Jaṭāyu. Jaṭāyu advises Rāma to go to the Pampāsaras in the south, where he will make friends with Sugrīva and other monkey-chiefs, and thus a suggestion is made as to how it will become possible for Rāma to attack Laṃkā. Act VI begins with the dialogues of three demons, viz. Mālyavān, Sāraṇa and Śūka, from which the audience know that Vālī was killed by Rāma and that Hanumān had burnt Laṃkā; Vibhiṣaṇa advised Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāmā, but he was insulted and consequently went over to Rāmā's camp. Then Aṃgada comes to Rāvaṇa's court for a peace-mission, but his mission fails and there follows an interchange of recriminations. The battle-cries of the monkeys are heard from the background. Rāvaṇa, from the terrace of his palace, takes a view of Rāmā's army, and the chief warriors are pointed out to him by Śūka. In the same way Rāmā and Vibhiṣaṇa see Rāvaṇa's army from the peak of mountain Suvēla.

189. Almost the whole of act VII is a dialogue between Kāpaṭika, who was a spy of Lavaṇa, the lord Mathurā and a friend of Rāvaṇa, and a demon named Vṛkamukha. We know that Rāvaṇa has been killed, Sītā has come out pure from the fire and Vibhiṣaṇa is installed on the throne of Laṃkā. Kāpaṭika says that he would try his best still to create difficulties in the way of Rāmā. In the end, Vibhiṣaṇa's voice is heard from the background requesting Rāmā to sit in the aerial car Puṣpaka for going to Ayodhyā. Act VIII begins with the aerial journey of Rāmā to Ayodhyā. Sītā asks him about various places coming on the way and he satisfies her curiosity. Kāpaṭika takes the guise of a young Muni, and hastily goes to Ayodhyā where the news of Rāvaṇa's death have not reached as yet. There he gives false information that Rāvaṇa in his aerial car is coming to attack Ayodhyā having killed both Rāmā and Lakṣmaṇa. The army is ordered to remain ready and Kausalyā and Sumitrā, struck with grief, prepare for burning themselves alive. At this juncture enters the aerial car, Bharata aims an arrow at Vibhiṣaṇa taking him to be an ally of Rāvaṇa, but Vasiṣṭha who knows everything checks him, and the plot of Kāpaṭika is found out. The concluding portion of the play (folio 87) is missing, but it can be easily surmised that it must have depicted the reunion of the family, and in the end there must have been a Bharatavākya in the mouth of Rāmā. We may mention here that in the beginning of each act, except the first, the poet has put one verse in praise of Vastupāla, which speaks of his close association with the patron.

190. Thus the Ullāgharāghava is a long drawn out play, possibly having as its model the Anargharāghava of Murārī (before the 9th century A. D.), a play in seven acts. There is a series of Rāmā-dramas, ending

with the word Rāghava, which seem to have some connection with one another. We are in darkness regarding the Udāttarāghava of Māyurāja, which is known only by reference,¹ and we are not able to say anything about its relation with the Anargharāghava of Murāri, who may either have succeeded him or preceded him. Murāri seems to have been imitated by Jayadeva (circa 1200 A. D.) in the Prasannarāghava,² which is also a Rāma-play in seven acts. Murāri's play was very popular in Sanskrit literature, at a time, and he has been spoken of very highly in anthologies, and a large number of commentaries were written on his play.³ The play was zealously read and studied also in mediaeval Gujarāt, and Naracandra and his Guru Devaprabha,⁴ both of them contemporaries of Vastupāla, have composed commentaries on it. A third commentary was written by Jinaharṣa in the 15th century.⁵ And it is no wonder if Someśvara was influenced by it. Just as act IV of the Ullāgharāghava is entirely taken up by the dialogue of two Gandharvas, Kanakacūḍa and Kumudāṅgada, the later part of act VI of the Anargharāghava is similarly devoted to the talks between Ratnacūḍa and Hemāṅgada, who are also Gandharvas. These dialogues in both the plays serve the same purpose, viz. to inform the audience about the events that have already occurred. Dialogues of Mālyavān, Śūka and Sārṇa are found almost in identical places in act VI in both the plays. VIII. 29-30 of the Ullāgharāghava are mere imitation of the VII. 97-98 of the Anargharāghava; and the whole of the act VIII in the former play seems to have been inspired by act VII of the latter, though here one may be tempted to say that the poet may have also seen the portions describing Rāma's return to Ayodhyā in canto XIII of the Raghuvamśa and act X of the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājasekhara (circa 900 A. D.).

191. The Ullāgharāghava betrays some influence of the Abhijñāna-śakuntalā. The scenes in which Sitā goes to Ayodhyā and the grief of Janaka at the separation from his dear daughter is expressed—are reminiscent of similar scenes in the fourth act of the great drama of Kālidāsa. When Someśvara wrote—

नवपरिणीता दुहिता गच्छन्ती पतिगृहाय वन्धूनाम् ।
परमार्थवेदिनामपि वैकुण्ठं विरचयत्येव ॥

(I. 10)

he must have in his mind the following half-verse from the Śakuntalā, put in Kaṇva's mouth—

1 Keith, Sanskrit Drama, pp. 223 ff.

2 Ibid, p. 226. The Unmattarāghava of Bhāskara Kavi of unknown date, though a one-act play, seems to have been influenced at least in its name by the plays like the Anargharāghava.

3 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 638 f.

4 PBC, p. 301; JRK, p. 7.

5 PBC, intro, p. 52.

वैकुण्ठं मम तावदीदृशमहो स्नेहादरप्यौकसः
पीड्यन्ते गृहिणः कथं न तनयाविश्लेषदुःखैर्नवैः ॥

(IV. 5)

And Śātānanda's instruction to Sītā—

शुश्रूषा श्वशुरे ननान्दृषु नतिः श्वश्रुषु यांजलिः (१ वद्धांजलिः ?)
पत्न्यौ तत्परता सुनमौ च वचस्तन्निवर्तनौ शुचौ ।
साङ्गस्यं कुलबालिकासु विनयः पूज्ये तनौ संवृति-
मार्गोऽयं मुनिपुङ्गवैर्मृगदृशां श्रेयः श्रिये दक्षितः ॥

(I. 21)

appears to have been based on the famous verse in the Śākuntalā spoken by Kaṇva, beginning with the words शुश्रूषस्व गुरुन् (IV. 17). In the second act of the Ullāgharāghava, Rāma protects Sītā from the bee which was attracted by the fragrance of her mouth and addresses him a verse आतश्चक्रे अमर भवतां (II. 35), which is inspired by a similar scene in the first act of the Śākuntalā and the verse चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं (I. 20).

192. The Sanskrit drama was generally under the influence of the court, and though the audience was mixed, its worth was judged by the learned who were intent on discerning poetic beauties or defects. The result was that the poet attempted to introduce as many lyric verses as he could, and consequently the action and dialogues suffered. This process can be seen in full development in Murāri, Rājasekhara and other later dramatists, in whom we find subordination of action to description, and the degeneration of the description into a mere exercise in style and in the use of alliteration.¹ We find these features also in Someśvara, he being the child of his age. At some places he has made the things too lengthy, e. g., whole of the fourth act is devoted to the long and tedious dialogues between two Gandharvas, the second act describes the beauties of the garden, and a part of the last act gives large number of verses in epic style about several geographical places from Lankā to Ayodhyā. This was partly due to the fact that the plays for their reputation depended largely on being read, not witnessed, however important it may have been for the poet to secure the honour of public performance.

193. But the merit of Someśvara's work lies in the fact that, though it exhibits all these characteristics of the later drama, prose as well as verses in it are written in an elegant and effective style, which has always marked his compositions, as we have seen before. He has tried to dramatize the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa, but has utilized his long and unwieldy subject-matter in a judicious way, as a result of which his acts generally do not degenerate into something like separate plays, as has happened in case of the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājasekhara. A number of lyric verses can be cited as poetic achievements of Someśvara. Rāma being abashed at his praise for his valour before Paraśurāma, expresses exemplary modesty—

1 Keith, op. cit., p. 244.

भद्रं जीर्णं त्रिनयनधनु यन्मया दैवयोगात् यत्संनोदः शिशुरिति रणे रैणुकेयेन चाहम् ।
लोकः प्रीत्या तदपि किञ्च मे पारं न नायनागो वार्यः कार्यो न खलु महतां गर्हणा निमित्तम् ॥
(II. 9)

Jatukarna, a pupil of Vasiṣṭha, describes Daśaratha sitting with Rāma, comparing him with a great Banyan tree—

राजा राजलनेनार्थं सुतेनान्तिकवर्तिना । प्ररोहणात्नितुल्येन वटवृक्ष इवोन्नतः ॥
(II. 44)

And Daśaratha, deeply aggrieved at the idea of Rāma's banishment, expresses his agony—

नातः श्रिते तपनत्रात विभो नभस्वन् सर्वं हि वित्थं तदिदं वदत प्रसह्य ।
का दुर्दशेवमधुना नम वतेते यन्मूर्च्छां तु गच्छति न गच्छति जीवितव्यम् ॥
(III. 18)

Touching farewell of Rāma to Ayodhyā and its people—

भास्वद्गोत्रचरित्रचित्ररचिरप्रासादं तुभ्यं नम-
स्त्वां वन्दे सुकृतानुरक्तजनतामिध्यामयोध्यां पुरीम् ।
आपृच्छे पुरवासिनः सविनयं युष्मानिहायुष्मति
क्षमाभारं भरते समुद्धरति च स्वस्त्यस्तु गच्छाम्यहम् ॥
(III. 35)

And a charming description of the moon-rise—

ब्रह्मास्त्रं मन्मथस्य त्रिभुवनवनितामानमीनावकृष्ट्यै
कैवर्तः कैरवाणां प्रियसुहृदभृतस्त्रोतसां शैलराजः ।
पान्थस्त्रीणामपथ्यं रथचरणचमूचक्रवालस्य कालः
शृङ्गारस्योपकारः किरिति रतिमसावोपधीनामधीशः ॥
(IV. 53)

Rāma's dejection when he knew that Sītā was carried away—

दृष्टिः स्पष्टं तदगतमपि वीक्षते नाश्रुमिश्रा
दूराह्वाने न हि पटुरयं बाष्पकुण्ठश्च कण्ठः ।
पादद्वन्द्वं प्रचलितुमिदं न क्षमं मुह्यतो मे
तदैवेहो क्वचिदचिरयन् वत्स पश्य त्वमेव ॥
(V. 40)

The Dūtāṅgada of Subhāṭa—a Chāyā Nāṭaka

194. The Dūtāṅgada of Subhāṭa is a brief one-act play depicting the peace-mission of Aṅgada to Rāvaṇa's court. It is interesting to note that the poet does not make claim to originality, but on the contrary says that he has borrowed from former poets.¹ A number of verses in this play have been traced to other works. The latter half of the first benedictory verse is quoted by Namisādhū (1069 A. D.) in his commentary on the Kāvya-lamkāra (II. 8) of Rudraṭa. The fifth verse is found in the Hitopadeśa (circa 900 A. D.) and in several recensions of the Pañcatantra, while the ninth is quoted by Kṣemendra (11th century A. D.) in his Suvṛttatilaka (p. 13), ascribing it

¹ स्वनिर्मितं किञ्चन गद्यपद्यवन्धं कियत् प्राप्तनसत्कवीन्द्रैः ।

प्रोक्तं गृहीत्वा प्रकिरच्यते स रसाढ्यमेतत्सुभटेन नाट्यम् ॥ (last verse)

to Bhavabhūti. Moreover, Subhata has taken a number of verses from the Balarāmāyaṇa¹ of Rājasekhara, and also from the Mahānāṭaka.² It is quite possible that a number of other verses also may be from the older poets.

195. In the beginning of the play we find that Aṅgada is appointed to go to the court of Rāvaṇa to demand the return of Sitā. Then enters Rāvaṇa, and with him his queen Mandodari and brother Vibhīṣaṇa, who entreat him to make peace with Rāma, but Rāvaṇa gets enraged at the suggestion and drives away his brother. At this juncture the door-keeper announces the arrival of Aṅgada, and some heated conversation follows between Rāma's messenger and Rāvaṇa. Then enters the apparition of Sitā created by the Rākṣasa's magic, which sits on Rāvaṇa's lap, and Aṅgada is quite puzzled to see it. But the next moment two Rākṣasīs come, bringing the news that Sitā is trying to commit suicide hearing something untoward about Rāma, and Aṅgada is delighted to know that the form in Rāvaṇa's lap is not real Sitā. Rāvaṇa declines to hand back Sitā and Aṅgada returns after trying to impress upon him the power of Rāma; we learn shortly afterwards that Rāvaṇa has met his doom.

Interpretation of the word Chāyā Nāṭaka; Characteristics of the Chāyā Nāṭaka

196. The prose-portion in the play is very scanty, and the bulk of the play is taken up by verses, a number of which are borrowed material, as I have just pointed out. Poetic merits of the work are negligible, but it is important from another point of view, because it is called a Chāyā Nāṭaka or shadow-play in the prologue, and is one of the oldest available works among the Sanskrit plays to which the technical name Chāyā Nāṭaka is applied.³ This type of drama is not mentioned in the list of Rūpakas and Uparūpakas, and we have to ask the question—what is meant by the Chāyā Nāṭaka? We get some clue to the characteristics of this type of drama from another play, viz. Dharmābhyudaya of Meghaprabhācārya, which is called a Chāyā Nāṭya Prabandha, and in which a definite stage-direction is found, to the effect that, when the king expresses his intention to become an ascetic, a puppet is to be placed inside the curtain in the attire of an ascetic (यवनिकान्तराद् यतिवेशधारी पुत्रकस्तत्र स्थापनीयः, p. 15). Unfortunately, the date of the Dharmābhyudaya cannot be finally settled, but it is certain that it was composed before 1217 A. D. (= 1273 V. S.), because a palm-leaf manuscript of the work written in that year is preserved in the

1 Verses 46, 47, 51, 52, 53 and 54 are to be traced respectively to IX. 53, IX. 55, IX. 56, IX. 58, IX. 59 and X. 21 of the Balarāmāyaṇa.

2 Keith, op. cit., p. 269 n.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 55. It is interesting to note that the Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara has been called a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the colophon in the Poona manuscript at the end of the third act, as follows—इति श्रीकुमारवृत्तेः श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृतावुल्लाघराघवे छायानाटके चतुर्थोऽङ्कः । Other acts have no colophons, and the play is not described as a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the prologue or the Prastāsti; and this single reference remains only a matter of curiosity.

Samgha Bhāṇḍār at pāṭay.¹ The play has taken as its theme the life of a Jaina sage named Daśarṇabhadra, it was acted in a temple of Pārśvanātha, as mentioned in the prologue, and its author was a Jaina Sādhu most probably from Gujarāt, as its manuscripts are found in Gujarāt.² Śamāmṛtam, delineating the life of Neminātha, by some unknown Jaina author from Gujarāt, is another short play which has been called a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the prologue (...सगवतः श्रीनेमिनाथस्य यात्रामहोत्सवे विद्वद्भिः समासद्विरादिद्योऽस्ति यथा श्रीनेमिनाथस्य शमासृतं नाम छायानाटकमस्ति नवस्वेति । p. 1). The date of this play is not known.

197. In any case, we might conclude that the Chāyā Nāṭaka was a literary piece to be recited by the performers of puppet-show. The word Chāyā Nāṭaka can be translated as "imitation-play", i. e., a play with a lot of verbal borrowings from other literary works. This applies to the Dūtāṅgada, as just pointed out (para 194). Rājendralāl Mitra, however, gives a different interpretation,³ and identifies the Chāyā Nāṭaka with the *entracte* in a play. He explains the word Chāyā Nāṭaka as "drama in the form of a shadow", i. e., reduced to the minimum for representation in such a form. But the Dūtāṅgada, the Dharmābhyudaya and the Śamāmṛtam do not give any clue which would help us in deciding if this interpretation is correct. Professor Luders has taken the Dūtāṅgada as the type of the Chāyā Nāṭaka, and thence deduced its characteristics; viz.- the prevalence of verse—often epic in character—over prose, the absence of Prakrit, the large number of characters, and the omission of the Vidūṣaka; and on this basis has considered the Mahānāṭaka and the Haridūta also as Chāyā Nāṭaka.⁴ But we cannot take these characteristics as peculiar to the Chāyā Nāṭaka, because the Dūtāṅgada, the Śamāmṛtam and the Dharmābhyudaya have some Prakrit dialogues, and in the case of the last work the prose-portion predominates over the verses, unlike in the Dūtāṅgada. Any way, it is certain from these three works which are called Chāyā Nāṭakas by their authors, that the Chāyā Nāṭaka was a short and simple composition in one act. But we are left in the dark regarding its other characteristics and the exact manner of its representation. Whatever part the shadow-plays of puppets might have played in the evolution of the Sanskrit drama⁵ the literary type known as the Chāyā Nāṭaka appears to be comparatively late, because it has been never alluded to in works on dramatic theory. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of the word Chāyā Nāṭaka, we can say with certainty that the three extant Chāyā Nāṭakas, viz. the Dūtāṅgada, the Śamāmṛtam and Dharmābhyudaya, are from Gujarāt, and if they really indicated shadow-play, one may say that in mediaeval Gujarāt recitation of elegant Sanskrit prose and verse must have accompanied these puppet-plays.

1 PBC, p. 387

2 JRK, p. 195.

3 Bikaner Catalogue, p. 251.

4 Keith, op. cit., p. 56.

5 I may quote here a reference from Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on the Mahābhārata, XII. 294. 5 (रङ्गावतरणं चैव तथा रूपोपजीवनम् । मद्यमांसोपजीव्यं च विकृतं

The Karuṇāvajrāyudha of Bālacandra

198. Now, we come to the Karuṇāvajrāyudha, a one-act play by Bālacandra. It has taken for its theme the Jaina version of the famous legend of king Śibi and the pigeon occurring in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata and also in the Jātaka (no. 499). In the Jaina story, the hero is king Vajrāyudha who is the Tirthaṅkara Sāntinātha in one of his former births, and it occurs in its oldest form in the 21st chapter of the Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī of Saṁghadāśa (circa 500 A. D.), and later on in the fifth Parvan of Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarīra of Hemacandra and in numerous other works. In the prologue of the play the Sūtradhāra gives good many details about Vastupāla and his ancestors and also about the poet and his spiritual teachers. Then follows a Viśvambhaka, containing a dialogue between two dancing-teachers named Kalahamśa and Kalakauṭha, from which we know that king Vajrāyudha has only recently returned after accomplishing a world-conquest, and that he is a man of great piety. Kalahamśa infers from the throbbing of both of his eyes that some incident will occur which will be bad for the king in the beginning, but will turn out to be good in the end. Both start to see the king who was sitting in the courtyard of the Pauśadhaśālā after ending the Pauśadha of the last day which was the fourteenth day of the fortnight, held sacred by the Jains. Then follows a conversation between the king and his minister Puṣottama, in which the king expresses his great ideals about the religion which enjoins non-violence to all living beings, and gives the ideal of his life in the following verse—

असारस्य शरीरस्य सारमेतद्गुणद्वयम् । तपः प्राणैरपि प्रीतिविधानमपरे जने ॥

(v. 58)

on which the fruition of the main action in the play is based. Meanwhile a great uproar is heard from the background, and a frightened dove chased by a hawk enters. The dove seeks shelter from the king, which the latter is ever-ready to extend, but the hawk is very hungry and demands his food and faints. The king offers him sweet-balls, but he being a carnivorous animal can not partake of them. Then the king decides to give him the flesh of his own body equal in weight to that of the dove, but the dove proves to be so weighty that the king sits down in the scale and thus offers his life for the bird. At this juncture the two gods who had come in the form of birds to test the king's piety reveal themselves, and everything ends well.

लोहचर्मणोः ॥ Citraśālā press edition). Nilakaṇṭha explains the word रूपो जीवनम् in the following manner—रूपोपजीवनं जलमण्डपिकेति दाक्षिणात्येषु प्रसिद्धम् यत्र सूक्ष्मवस्त्रं व्यवधाय चर्ममयैराकारै राजमात्यादीनां चर्या प्रदर्श्यते । The word जल is the compound जलमण्डपिका can be derived from Arabic *Zil* meaning 'shadow,' and the explanation refers to the shadow-play of puppets popular even now in the Indian country-side. Nilakaṇṭha is traditionally believed to be a scholar patronized by the Peshvās, and as such he may be assigned to the 18th century. Burnell, however, puts him in the 16th century (Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 290). In any case, the reference by Nilakaṇṭha is of a later date, and though useful for the history of the puppet-play, does not throw any light on the early history of the Chāyā Nāṭaka in its literary form.

199. The work is an example of a play composed and performed for the propagation of the Jaina religion in the manner of the Moharājaparājaya (para 32), the Prabudhharauhiṇeya (para 38) and the Dharmābhyudaya (para 196). Consequently, greater part of it is occupied by the religious discussions between the king and his minister, and also between the king and the hawk. Sometimes the pranks of the Vidūṣaka bring a lively touch, but on the whole there is practically very little action, and the verses predominate over the dialogues, so much so that we find not less than 137 stanzas in this short play. Some of the verses are quite noteworthy. When the Vidūṣaka raises doubts regarding the existence of another world the king makes him silent with the following illustration—

करस्यमप्येवममी कृपीवलाः क्षिपन्ति बीजं पृथुपङ्कसङ्कटे ।
वयस्य केनापि कथं विलोकितः समस्ति नास्तीत्यथवा फलोदयः ॥
(v. 50)

And description of the shining sabre in the king's hand—

शङ्खणां कालरात्रिर्गमदतिलकः प्राज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्म्याः
शाखा रोषद्रुमस्य प्रवलतरमहःखन्निनः शृङ्गयष्टिः ।
स्फूर्जच्छौर्यप्रदीपाञ्जनमनणुयशःपुण्डरीकस्य नालं
पाथोधिः पुष्कराणामसिरसितरुचिर्नाति देवस्य हस्ते ॥
(v. 62)

Finally, when the gods praise the greatness of Vajrāyudha, he expresses his modesty in very simple but eloquent words :

सज्जनाः परमस्तोत्रं स्तोकमप्यालपन्ति हि । कवयः कवयन्त्यब्धिं क्षारमप्यमृतकरम् ॥

The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasimhasūri

200. The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasimhasūri is especially noteworthy, because it is a drama on a contemporary historical event. Of historical dramas we have very little in Sanskrit literature in comparison with the plays based on mythology. Two plays of Viśākhadatta—the Mudrārākṣasa and the Devicandragupta, the latter being known only through the quotations in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja—are famous. We know of the Lalitavigrarāja Nāṭaka composed by Somadeva (circa 1153 A. D.), in honour of king Viśaladeva or Vighararāja of Śākambhari,¹ and also of the Pratāparudrakalyāṇa (circa 1300 A. D.) of Vidyānātha, inserted in his treatise on rhetoric, the Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, as an illustration of the drama, which celebrates his patron, and of the Pārijātaṃajārī (1231 A. D.) of Madana.² We have already mentioned in the first chapter several historical plays composed and performed in Gujārāt—viz. the Karpasundarī of Bibhaṇa, the Mudri-takumudacandra Prakaraṇa of Yaśaścandra, the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśahpāla, the Candralekhāvijaya Prakaraṇa of Devacandra, and the Gaṅgā-dāsapratāpavilāsa of Gaṅgādhara. Several of these plays make use of mythological motifs and they are historical only in a limited sense. The

1. Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 643.

2. Hultsch, IA, Vol. XXXV, pp. 236 ff. This Madana was the Royal priest at Dhārā, and hence different from the poet Madana, who was patronized by Vastupāla (para 132).

Hammīramadamardana takes for its theme a purely historical incident viz. the repulse of the Muslim attack by Vastupāla and Viradhavala, and has treated of it in a manner which reveals that the author had almost first-hand information of the contemporary events. The word Hammīra is a corrupt form of the Arabic word *Amīra* meaning 'a noble,' which seems to have been used here to denote the Sultān of Delhi, who has been sometimes called by the name Milachrikāra in the drama.

201. The Hammīramadamardana is a five-act play. The author claims (p. 1) that it includes all the nine sentiments, in contrast to some Prakaraṇas exploiting the sentiment of fear, with which the audience has been surfeited. In act I after the prologue, enter Viradhavala and Tejpāla, the subject of their talk being the extraordinary merits of Vastupāla as a statesman. We also know that Turuṣka Hammīra and Yādava Simhaṇa seek an opportunity of attacking Gujarāt, and that they may hope for aid from Saṁgrāmasimha, nephew of Simha, the lord of Lāṭa. The spies of Lāvanyasimha, Tejpāla's son, supply important information and king Viradhavala expresses desire to attack Hammīra. But Vastupāla warns him against rashness in pursuing the enemies too far and advises him to take the aid of the Mārvāḍ princes. In act II we find that the advice has been followed, as related by Lāvanyasimha. Then a spy Nipuṇaka enters with the tale of his adventures; he entered Simhaṇa's camp, passed himself off as a spy on Viradhavala's movements, reported that the king was ready for an attack on Hammīra, and persuaded Simhaṇa to wait in the forest of the river Tapti for a favourable opportunity to attack Viradhavala after his forces have been weakened by battle with Hammīra. Through the machinations of his brother Suvega, who was also a spy in the service of king Devapāla of Mālvā, Nipuṇaka succeeds in creating an impression on Simhaṇa that Saṁgrāmasimha was in the opposite camp, and in frightening the latter into flight. Vastupāla comes on the stage. His spy Kuśalaka informs him that Saṁgrāmasimha is preparing for an attack on Stambhatīrtha. Vastupāla takes precautions for its defence, and summons Bhuvanapāla, Saṁgrāmasimha's minister, with whom he arrives at an understanding assuring Viradhavala of that Prince's aid. In act III, a spy Kamalaka informs about the fate of Jayatala, the king of Mevāḍ. Terrified by the attack of the Mlechhas, some people in despair flung themselves into wells burned themselves in their houses or hanged themselves, until he depressed the foe and heartened the people by announcing the approach of Viradhavala at whose name the Turuṣkas fled in terror. What Vastupāla is doing for success against the Mlechhas after he had disposed off other foes has been shown by a conversation between two spies, Kuvalayaka and Śighraka which forms the Praveśaka to act IV; Vastupāla has induced the Caliph of Baghdād by a false report to instruct Khārpara Khān to send Milachrikār to him in chains, and he has won over several Gurjara princes by promising them the lands of the Turuṣkas when they are defeated. Then enter Milchrikāra and his minister Ghorī Isapa discussing the situation. They are

pressed hard by Kharpara Khān as well as Viradhavala. Milchrīkāra does not desire to retreat, but he and his minister fly hastily when they hear the sound of approach of Viradhavala's army. Viradhavala is disappointed at not being able to capture his foes, but obeys Vastupāla's counsel against rash pursuit. Act V is very interesting, as it describes the return of the triumphant king and the minister Tejapāla to Dhavalakka from the scene of action. Viradhavala has been depicted as mounted over a Naravimāna, which presumably means an aerial car in the form of a man. After passing over Mount Ābū, the seat of the God Acaleśvara, the Vasiṣṭhāśrama and the sages living there, they come to Candrāvati, the capital of the Paramāra kings. Then they approach the town of Sidhapura, where the sacred Sarasvati flows eastwards (नूतनसाः सिद्धपुरपरितरे प्राचीमुखप्रसृतरं पद्मप्रवाहमधिवसन्, p. 47), and see the temple of the Bhadrāmāhākāla, by which is meant the famous shrine Rudramahālaya built by Mūlarāja. Then they see Anahilavād, the capital of Gujarāt, and are highly delighted at the sight of the great lake Sahasraliṅga. Going southwards, they see Karpāvati (same as Āśāpalli on the site of modern Ahmedabad) on the bank of the river Sābhramati, held by Lavaṇaprasāda, and finally reach Dhavalakka, where the queen Jayataladevī was eagerly waiting for the king. The places are described in a highly rhetorical style, and the idea of the aerial travel from Ābū to Dhavalakka seems to have occurred to the poet's mind by the descriptions of such travels from Lankā to Ayodhyā in the numerous Rāma-dramas and also in the Raghuvamśa (vide para 190). After the return of all to Dhavalakka, we know that Vastupāla has intercepted at sea Radi and Kadī, Milchrīkāra's preceptors, returning from Baghdād, and that Milchrīkāra has been forced to enter into a friendly alliance in order to secure their safety. Vastupāla and Viradhavala congratulate one another. Finally, the king enters Śīva's temple, where the god presents himself before him and grants him a boon.¹

202. Though the Hammīramadamardana is primarily meant to eulogize the greatness of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, and also of king Viradhavala, naturally it throws some important light on contemporary history. We also come to know how the system of spies worked in those days. Being a production of the later mediaeval Sanskrit literature, it is written in a highly ornate and artificial style; however, the dialogues are forceful, and the poetry is charming and abounds in choice similes. The characters of Vastupāla, Tejapāla and Viradhavala are well-marked and full of life and the depiction of the aerial travel suggests that the poet is intent upon doing something imaginative. There is only one female character in the play, viz. queen Jayataladevī, and it seems that the poet has introduced her to delineate the erotic sentiment in the beginning of the fifth act. If we consider her to be the heroine, naturally we should take Viradhavala as hero, in whose mouth the Bharatavākya is also put. On the other hand, Vastupāla is the main character in the play, and his figure looms large over all the events. Probably, the poet has intended him as the counsellor and the guide—rather a Guru in the political

¹ For a short summary of the play, vide Keith, op. cit., pp. 248 ff.; and for a detailed analysis of its subject-matter, Dalal, intro. to the HMM, pp. 6 ff.

sense—of Viradhavala. His role may be compared with that of Cāpaky in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, in which Candragupta is the hero, but the main burden of action falls on his Guru.

203. The play abounds in lyric verses, though there is no such great disparity between the extent of the prose and verse, as we find, for example in the *Dūtāṅgada* or the *Karuṇāvajrāyudha*. There is a remarkable fancy in the following description of the evening:

नीलानि पद्मपदकुलानि हसन्मुखीनां लीनानि भान्ति हृदयेषु कुसुमतीक्ष्णान् ।
दूराभ्युपेतानि वक्रान्तकरान्तसङ्गमयूवशान्तविरहानलसंनिभानि ॥

(II. 20)

And the chamberlain gives a poetic account of his old age in the following verse—

सर्वाङ्गं पलितच्छलेन जरया मुक्ताः कटाक्षच्छटाः स्वात्मा कम्पयते शिरश्च विषयानोगान्निषेधनिव ।
आलोकाय मुहुर्जलं वितरतो वाष्पच्छलाच्चक्षुषी देहोऽद्यापि तथापि सङ्कुचति मे मृलोभिषेवाधिकम् ॥

(V. 2)

Following is a picturesque description of Mount Ābu:

धरित्रीधम्मिष्ठो विलसति वसिष्ठशतक्रतुस्फुरद्भूमः श्यामीकृतवपुरसावर्तुर्दगिरिः ।
इमे ताराभारास्त्वदहितयशःषट्पदजुषो यदङ्गं रङ्गन्तः कुसुमभरभङ्गीमविभरः ॥

(V. 3)

Trees in the penance-grove of Vasiṣṭha looking like ascetics:

कार्श्यस्पर्शशिराभरोपमलतासंवेष्टिताङ्गा जटाजूटप्रायदलप्रतानमुकुटाः सौख्योपविष्टा ह्रुवम् ।
उत्कुलानि तपोधना इव वनोत्सङ्गे भृशं बिभ्रते शुभ्रध्याननिभानिमानि शिरसा पुष्पाण्यमी पादपाः ॥

(V. 10)

Bhadramahākāla in Sidhhapura, whose fire-eye, as if, performs his own Ārātrika ceremony:

चूलागलद्वलसिन्धुपयप्रवाहो व्यालोलचामरतुलां कुर्वते त्रिसन्ध्यम् ।
तुल्यव्रतौ प्रसृमरानलचक्षुरस्या नीराजनीभवति च स्वयमेव देवः ॥

(V. 21)

Sky-touching temples in Anahilavādī, the capital of Gujarāt:

निशि निशि तुहिनांशुज्योत्स्नया जातजाड्याकृतिरिव रविमूर्त्यामुलसन्त्यां हसन्त्याम् ।
इह सुरगृहपङ्क्तिर्वासरे वासरेऽसौ वत तपति पताकाहस्तविस्तारणेन ॥

(V. 24)

NARACANDRA'S GLOSS ON THE ANARGHARĀGHAVA

204. It will be convenient here to treat of Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa on the *Anargharāghava Nāṭaka* of Murāri, as its subject pertains to drama. As we have already seen, Devaprabha, Naracandra's guru, had composed a commentary on the same play, but we would not study here the works of Devaprabha, because though he was a senior contemporary of Vastupāla,¹ he cannot be considered one of his literary circle, in the sense in which Naracandra can be. We have no evidence whatsoever to suggest that

1 Vide p. 73, footnote 3.

the literary activity of Devaprabha was patronized by Vastupāla or by any of his family-members. The work of Devaprabha as well as that of Naracandra are unprinted and available in manuscript form. The commentary of Devaprabha is a detailed and elaborate work, its Granthāgra being 7100 slokas,¹ while the work of Naracandra is a Ṭippaṇa or gloss, its Granthāgra being 2450 slokas,² i. e., only about one third of the work of his Guru. Thus Naracandra has not aimed at writing a full-fledged commentary on the Anargharāghava, the reason may be that his Guru had already composed one. Naracandra's work being like modern 'Notes' is concerned only with the elucidation of the meaning of the text, and the text not being a scientific work like the Nyāyakandalī, he had no occasion to propound any independent views, as he had in his Ṭippaṇa on the Nyāyakandalī (vide ch. XVII). It appears that in the Ṭippaṇa on the Anargharāghava, the author desired to supply a handy guide to the students, as the play of Murāri attracted a large number of students in mediaeval Gujarāt. In this work, Naracandra has never cited an authority or discussed a figure of speech, and seldom has he given any quotations. He has not discussed the technicalities of Sanskrit drama nor has he dwelt upon the explanations of the technical terms. Though Naracandra was a great scholar, he has produced this work in a very simple form, which would be useful to the beginners in literary studies. Perhaps, that is the reason why the number of the extant manuscripts of Naracandra's work is much larger than of the manuscripts of the commentaries of Devaprabha and Jinaharṣa,³ which would show that Naracandra's gloss had proved to be useful and popular among the students.

1 PBC, p. 301.

2 JRK, p. 7.

3 Ibid, p. 7.

CHAPTER VIII

PRAS'ASTIS

The literary form of Pras'asti and its development

205. Prasasti or panegyric is one of the most interesting forms of Sanskrit literature, because though written in ornate Kāvya style, the Prasastis deal with historical personages and contain much that is helpful for the reconstruction of the past history. In the earliest Indian literature there is frequent mention in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads of the "Gāthā Nārāṇsi" or "songs in praise of men." These songs are connected with the Dānastutis of the R̥gveda and the Kuntāpa hymns of the Atharvaveda, and are in a way precursors of the heroic episodes in the epics, for their contents are glorious deeds of the warriors and princes and the scholars believe that these Gāthās developed into epic poems of considerable length, centring around one hero or one great event.¹

206. Later on, we find the Prasastis in the form of inscriptions, the notable examples of which we find in the Gupta age. Hariṣeṇa's Prasasti of Samudragupta, inscribed on the Allahabad pillar (375-390 A. D.) Gīrnār inscription of Skandagupta (456 A. D.) and Vatsabhaṭṭi's Prasasti of the sun-temple at Mandasar (Mālava Saṃvat 529, which according to Bühler is equivalent to 473-4 A. D.) deserve special mention. These and several others are the specimens of the court-poetry zealously cultivated under the patronage of kings or sometimes of ministers, as in the case of Vastupāla. Even after the days of Hindu suzerainty were over this tradition of composing a Prasasti especially to commemorate the building of monuments continued upto most recent times. In Gujarāt and Rājasthān especially among the Jains, there is a characteristic form of the Prasasti viz. the Grantha-prasasti or "panegyric at the end of the book." The Jaina authors generally gave long Prasastis at the end of their compositions supplying detailed account of themselves, their Gurus and their gachhas. Moreover, the Prasastis of those lay followers under whose auspices the books were copied down and also of those who bought religious books and donated them to deserving monks and nuns for attaining merit have also been given at the end of manuscripts. A large number of such Prasastis have been published in the reports of scholars like Peterson and Bhandarkar and also in the descriptive catalogues of the Jaina Bhāṇḍārs at Pāṭan and Jesalmer, and in collections like the Jaina Pustaka Prasasti Saṃgraha. Such Prasastis yield a wealth of information on the history of a large number of aristocratic and upper middle-class Jaina families of mediaeval Gujarāt.

207. A typical Prasasti is simple in structure. After a benediction it proceeds to describe the donor or the builder of the monument. When the donor or the builder is not identical with the reigning prince, the Prasasti adds something about the latter. In both the cases it gives some

1 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 314,

genealogical information. Then it describes the donation and enumerates the privileges or conditions accompanying it, or describes in Kāvya style the structure built by the patron. It also sets out generally the name of the architect who constructed it, the priest who consecrated it, the poet who composed the Praśasti, the scribe who wrote it on copper or stone, and the artisan who engraved it. There are slight variations in the form according as the Praśasti is inscribed on a temple, an image, a public building, a copper-plate or is appended to a manuscript. The historically interesting part is generally the genealogy and the heroic or pious deeds mentioned therein. Some Praśastis are very short—only of a few lines, while others extend to more than a hundred lines or verses. Some Praśastis are written in prose, some in verse, while others in a mixture of prose and verse; and their value as history and poetry varies within a wide range.

Praśastis commemorating good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla

208. Vastupāla and Tejapāla have to their credit a large number of inscriptions—both long and short—but we shall take into consideration only those which deserve to be called independent Kāvya. We shall also review such poems which though not inscribed anywhere were composed as panegyrics and as such deserve to be reviewed here. All these poems have Vastupāla and Tejapāla as their central figures, except one Praśasti, viz. the Vaidyanāthapraśasti of Darbhāvati, extolling the Vaidyanātha temple and its renovator king Visaladeva, composed by Someśvara, one of Vastupāla's literary circle. As the central theme of most of the Praśastis is Vastupāla and his good deeds and as almost all of them indulge in unqualified praise according to the traditional style, they are not more than mediocre in literary merit. However, they have remarkable flashes of poetry in certain places.

The Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara

209. The Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara is intended to commemorate the building of the temples on Ābu, and contains 74 verses in different metres. First two verses praise the goddess Sarasvatī and Neminātha, the chief diety in the Ābu temple, and the third verse contains a short description of Aṇahilavād. Then follow a genealogy of the builders and admiring references to their parents, brothers and sisters (vv. 4-24). In verses 25-29 the poet mentions Aruorāja, who was 'an ornament of a clan of the Caulukyās' (viz. Vāghelās), and his son and grandson Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala. Then we find a description of Ābu and a genealogy of the Paramār kings ruling there, beginning from their mythical origin from the sacrificial altar of Vasistha upto Somasimha, the then ruler, and his heir-apparent Kṛṣṇarāja (vv. 30-42). Again, there begins an eulogy of Vastupāla and his family-members—his wife Lalitādevī and son Jayantasimha, Tejapāla and his wife Anupamā, and also elder brother Malladeva and his wife and son (vv. 43-58). Then the poet refers to the building of the temple by Tejapāla and installation of the statues of ten of his family-members on elephants, looking like ten

Dikpālas coming to salute the Jina (vv. 59-65). Verses 66-68 eulogize in hyperbolic terms the good deeds of Vastupāla, and 69-71 mention the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha, from among whom Vijayasenasūri had performed the installation-ceremony of the temple. Verse 72 bestows benediction on the temple and its builder, and in 73 Someśvara mentions himself as the author. And the last verse invokes the favour of Neminātha and goddess Ambikā on this panegyric of Vastupāla's family; and two sentences in simple prose mention the name of the engraver and the date of installation.

Prose-portion in the Gīrnār inscriptions

210. Among the Gīrnār inscriptions of Vastupāla, there are six long inscriptions which deserve the status of independent Praśastis. The prose-portion in all the six inscriptions occurs in the beginning, and being almost literally identical in all of them, presumably is the composition of one author, whose name, unfortunately, is not known. It is noteworthy that the prose-portion contains some useful information and important dates regarding the history of Vastupāla's family, and as such, is useful for the history of Gujārāt of the mediaeval Hindu period.

Somes'vara's verses in the Gīrnār inscriptions

211. In the Gīrnār inscriptions, after the aforesaid prose-portion, there occur a few verses by way of the panegyric of the builder—verses which are expressly mentioned as the composition of individual poets. Out of six inscriptions, verses in two (HIG no. 207 and PJLS no. 38-1; HIG no. 209 and PJLS no. 40-3) are from the pen of Someśvara. The first inscription has 9, while the second has 16 of Someśvara's verses. All the verses contain nothing more than conventional panegyric. Though the literary merit of the Praśastis is bound to be mediocre by reason of the very condition in which they are composed, Someśvara succeeds in giving some good poetic touches. Speaking of the poetic achievements and administrative efficiency of Vastupāla he says—

विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चुलुक्यसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचिदर्धहरणं श्रीकरणे कान्यकरणे वा ॥¹

About Tejapāla he says—

तेजःपालः सकलप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सविधे विभाति सफलः सरोवरस्येव सहकारः ॥²

And he describes how the fame of Vastupāla has spread everywhere—

उदारः शूरो वा रुचिरवचनो वाऽस्ति न हि वा भवचुलुक्यः कोऽपि कचिदिति चुलुक्येन्द्रसचिव ।
समुद्भूतभ्रान्तिर्नियतमवगन्तुं तव यशस्तर्हि मेहे पुरि पुरि च याता दिशि दिशि ॥³

The Vaidyanātha Pras'asti of Someśvara

212. Someśvara has got to his credit another very important Praśasti of historical value, viz. the Vaidyanāthaprasasti of Darbhāvati, even if we do not consider his lost Praśasti of the Vīranārāyaṇaprasāda, built by king

1 Abu Praśasti, v. 14.

2 Ibid, v. 65.

3 The second Gīrnār inscription of Someśvara, v. 4

Viradhavala at Dhavalakka (para 73). The Vaidyanāthaprasāsti was intended to commemorate the reparation by King Viśaladeva of the temple of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva or Śiva in the form of divine physician. The Prasāsti is a long poem of 116 verses and bears the date of V. S. 1311 (1255 A. D.), when both Vastupāla and Tejapāla were already dead some years before. Unfortunately, the two slabs bearing the Prasāsti are very badly worn out. The writing on one slab is almost wholly obliterated, and no line on the other is now left entire, and consequently we can hardly make out a single verse in its entirety. Still, we can see that the fragments of verse six are identical with the Kirtikaumudī II. 2, and verse 14 with the Kirtikaumudī II. 99. Available portions of verse 25 agree with verse 27 of the Ābu Prasāsti of Someśvara. Even from the scanty fragments of the Prasāsti, it can be said that the major portion of it extolls the warlike exploits of kings of Gujarāt and of the Vāghelā chiefs, and especially of Viśaladeva. Verse 45 refers to defeat of the lord of Dhārā and of the ruler of Deccan at the hand of Viśaladeva. With verse 80 begins apparently the account of Viśaladeva's building operations. We hear of the erection of one or several temples of Śiva (vv. 81 and 91), and of the restoration of a temple of the Sun, called Mūlasthāna¹ (v. 92), of another 'temple which resembled a peak of the mountain of Hara,' i. e. Kailāsa (v. 93), and that 'he who in form resembled Cupid renovated the Prākāra,' i. e. the enclosure, probably of some other temple. Verse 102 says that in his country the sound of the Vedas, chanted by indefatigable Brāhmins who were gladdened by fees given at great sacrifices, (ever) meets one's ears. In the concluding portion of the poem (vv. 109 ff.), Someśvara speaks of the officials and architects connected with the building of the temple, of himself, of the writer and the engraver of the Prasāsti. The fact that two verses from this Prasāsti have been included in the Sūktimuktāvalī of Jahlaṇa (para 77) is an eloquent testimony of the poetic fame which it enjoyed, and if we get a transcript of it from some old manuscript, as in the case of the Sūkṛtakīrtikallolīnī of Udayaprabha and the Vastupāla-Tejapālaprasāsti of Jayasīmaśūri, it will be deemed a notable literary discovery.

Udayaprabha's verses in a Gīrnār inscription and his Sūkṛtakīrtikallolīnī

213. Then, coming to the Prasāstis composed by Udayaprabhaśūri we may first mention his 9 verses in one of the Gīrnār inscriptions (HIG no. 212 and PJLS no. 43-6). But his principal contribution to this domain of literature is the Sūkṛtakīrtikallolīnī, a long Prasāsti of 179 verses. As its very name suggests, it is a panegyric of the good deeds of Vastupāla. After usual salutation to the deities, it describes at considerable length the valour of the kings of the Cāvaḍa dynasty (vv. 9-18), and devotes not less than fifty verses (vv. 19-69) to the kings of the Caulukya

1 Probably this may be the Sun-temple at Thān (Skt. Sthāna) in Saurāṣṭra, the magnificent ruins of which are found even now-a-days.

dynasty. Then follows the praise of Viradhavala and his ancestors (vv. 70-97); a genealogy of Vastupāla and the praises in Kāvya style of the minister and his family-members naturally follow (vv. 98-137). Verses 137-140 mention his warlike deeds, and 141-149 refer to his pilgrimages. After giving a genealogy of the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha (vv. 150-157) and praising Vijayasenasūri (vv. 158-61), the author enumerates the Dharmasthānaparamparā or the large number of public and religious buildings of Vastupāla, which he had built in obedience to the instruction of the Ācārya (vv. 162-77). Verse 178 supplies the name of the author and the last verse gives the conventional blessing. The Praśasti does not contain any new historical information, which we do not get from other sources, though its importance is not to be minimized, as it refers to many facts which might prove very useful as corroborative evidence.

Udayaprabha's Pras'asti of the Upās'raya at Stambhatīrtha and the Vastupālastuti

214. The Praśasti of an Upāsraya built by Vastupāla at Stambhatīrtha is a composition of Udayaprabha. It contains 19 verses and a few lines in prose, and has nothing more than the genealogy and the conventional praise of the builder and his religious teachers. The Vastupālastuti of Udayaprabha is a collection of 33 eulogistic verses. The work as a whole does not seem to have been occasioned by a particular incident or to be intended to commemorate some good deed, but looks like a systematic arrangement of the author's laudatory verses in praise of Vastupāla, and it is quite possible that the individual verses might have been composed on particular occasions, though nothing definite can be said on that point. There are some beautiful verses in the Praśastis by Udayaprabha, and I might quote here a few of them. He praises the speech of Vastupāla in a very charming manner—

पीयूसादपि पेशल शशधरज्योत्स्नाकलापादपि स्वच्छा नूतनचूतमञ्जरिभरादप्युलसत्सौरभाः ।

वाग्देवीमुखसामसूक्तविशदोद्गारादपि प्राञ्जलाः केषां न प्रथयन्ति चेतसि मुदं श्रीवस्तुपालोक्तयः ॥¹

And expressing wonder at the contrast between his merciful mind and warlike deeds, the poet says—

चेतः केतकगर्भपत्रविशदं वाचः सुधाबन्धवः कीर्त्तिः कार्त्तिकमासमांसलशशिज्योत्स्नावदातद्युतिः ।

आश्चर्यं क्षितिरक्षणक्षणवियौ श्रीवस्तुपालस्य यत् कृष्णत्वं चरितैरपास्तदुरितैर्लोकेषु भजे भुजः ॥²

Making a charming use of Śleṣa which is a favourite literary figure with Sanskrit poets, the poet again praises his patron—

सूरो रणेषु चरणप्रणतेषु सोमो वक्रोऽतिवक्रचरितेषु बुधोऽर्थबोधे ।

नीतौ गुरुः कृतिजने कविरक्रियासु मन्दोऽपि च ग्रहमयो न हि वस्तुपालः ॥³

Naracandra's verses in the Gīrnār inscriptions and his Vastupālapras'asti

215. Naracandrasūri has to his credit the metrical portion in two inscriptions on Gīrnār (HIG no. 208 and PJLS no. 39-2; HIG no. 211 and

1 Vastupāla-stuti, v. 1.

2 Ibid, v. 2.

3 Ibid, v. 4.

PJLS no. 42-5). The first inscription has 7, while the second has 11 laudatory verses. Naracandrasūri's Vastupālaprasāsti is a panegyric in 26 verses. In the first verse the poet salutes the first Tirthaṅkara Rṣabhadeva and in the second verse he mentions Vastupāla, Tejapāla and their ancestors, while the rest of the poem is devoted to conventional praise of the patron. About the merits of his patron the poet says—

विमुक्ता-विक्रम-विद्या-विदग्धता-वित्त-वितरण-विवेकैः । यः सप्तभिर्विकारैः कलितोऽपि बभार न विकारम् ॥¹

Vastupāla's proficiency in use of arms and his generosity have been praised in following words—

रणे वितरणे चात्र शस्त्रैर्वैश्वैश्च वर्धति । अमित्रमित्रयोः सद्यो मिश्रते हृदयावनिः ॥²

Narendraprabha's verses in a Girnār inscription and his two Pras'astis of Vastupāla

216. 13 laudatory verses in a Girnār inscription (HIG no. 210 and PJLS no. 41-4) are from the pen of Narendraprabhasūri. His longer Vastupāla-prasāsti of 104 verses is of some importance from historical and literary points of view. After saluting the first Jina and Mahādeva in a punning verse, the poet extolls the kings of the Caulukya dynasty (vv. 2-12), and then those of the Vāghelā dynasty (vv. 13-17). Then we are told about the ancestors of Vastupāla (vv. 18-24), and also about his personal merits (vv. 25-28). Verse 29 says that Vastupāla fixed his mind on religion, and verses 30-31 mention his pilgrimages, after which follows a long list of temples, public places, etc., built and repaired by him at different places (vv. 32-98). Verses 99-104 refer to the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha of which Vastupāla was a follower, and also to the author himself and his Gurus. Narendraprabha's second Vastupāla-prasāsti in 37 verses is entirely devoted to conventional praise of the two brothers and of king Viradhavala, whom they were serving, and does not refer to any historical event in particular.

The Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Pras'asti of Jayasimhasūri

217. The Vastupāla-Tejapāla-prasāsti of Jayasimhasūri is a panegyric in 77 verses commemorating the installation of golden flag-staffs by Tejapāla on the Devakulikās or small shrines in the temple of Muni Suvratasvāmīn which was known as the Śakunikāvihāra at Bṛgukachha. Like a number of Pras'astis which we have reviewed, this also contains the genealogy of the Caulukya (vv. 4-32) and the Vāghelā (vv. 33-38) kings, and that of the donor Vastupāla (vv. 39-51) and also a list of his good deeds (vv. 52-62). Verses 63-71 describe how Jayasimhasūri, head priest of the shrine and the author of this poem, requested Tejapāla for installation of golden flag-staffs, and how Tejapāla acted accordingly after obtaining the consent from his elder brother. The rest of the poem bestows conventional blessings, in high-flown language, on the golden staffs, the temple and the two ministers, and in the last verse the poet mentions his name.

1 Second Girnār inscription of Naracandra, v. 2.

2 Vastupālastuti, v. 14.

The Darbhāvati-Pras'asti

218. Now, we would review a Praśasti, the text of which is lost, and the author unknown, but the detailed contents of which are available from the *Vastupālacarita* of Jinaharṣa.¹ While Tejapāla returned from Godhra (Godhrā) after defeating and capturing Ghūghula, the chief of that place (vide para 52), he built the fort of Darbhāvati and also constructed some temples in that city. The *Vastupālacarita* expressly mentions that Tejapāla had installed two slabs of a Pras'asti or inscription in the walls of a Jaina temple built by him there, and concludes the account of the public works of Tejapāla in that city by the words—इति दम्भवतिप्रशस्तौ, meaning thereby that these details have been taken from the above-mentioned Praśasti. The Darbhāvati-prasasti mentioned by the *Vastupālacarita* is clearly different from the Vaidyanāthaprasasti of Someśvara to which we have already referred, because the contents of the two are altogether different from each other. Though we are not in a position to reconstruct the text of the original Praśasti, it would be suitable here to give a translation of the relevant verses of the *Vastupālacarita*²—"Accompanied by the tributary chiefs the son of Aśvarāja arrived at the town of Darbhāvati, which was rich like the capital city of the Vidarbha country (62). The wise one, finding that the residents of the town were affected with the pain of the shaft of terror of the rulers of Palli, forgetting all other thoughts, constructed round the town ramparts which touched the sky and were made resplendent by the statues of Mūlraja and other kings. It had various courses, it afforded shelter to the virtuous, (and was meant) so to say, for the comfort of the gods moving in the sky without a support. He thus removed every fear of the helpless travellers, as the Sun removes the mass of darkness. The birth of such persons is, verily, good for humanity (63-66). He built there the temple of Jina-lord Pārśva, which was marked with golden pitchers, was like Kailāsa, the chief of the mountains, and looked brilliant on account of the line of fluttering banners. It had the Toranas and the statues of his forefathers, was like collirium of nectar for the eyes of the triple world, and had one hundred and seventy temples of Jina around it. The image of Kumāradevi, the mother of the chief minister, riding an elephant and holding a garland of silver-flowers in the hand, shines in the porch, like the mother of the first Jina. There he also constructed other famous monuments with a view to please the heart of the Caulukya king (67-70), such as these—in the assembly-hall of the Vaidyanātha temple in the town of Darbhāvati, Tejapāla placed twentyone pitchers of gold (71). He, who was the chief among the victorious, built a Jaina temple in the front of the adytum of the Vaidyanātha Mahādeva, in which he put the statues of his master (i. e. king Viradhavala), his beloved queen, as well as his own image and the images of the younger and elder members of his family (72). He also put nine sacred gold pitchers in the Udyotas or sky-lights of the nine partitions, and they looked like illuminators

1 VC, ch. III, 363-79.

2 The translation is adapted from the Ruins of Darbhāvati or Dabhoi, by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, pp. 5 f., with some necessary corrections.

(73). In the two doors of the western and the northern verandah he placed two (slabs of the) Praśasti¹ speaking of his auspicious fame (74). Having constructed a beautiful step-well full of sweet water, called Svayaṃvara, he made the earth full of the relish of the fresh ambrosia (75). In front of the northern gate of the abode of Vaidyanātha he erected high Torāṇa of white marble (76). Here his brother (i. e. Vastupāla) built with white marble a porch for the bull (Vṛṣa-maṇḍapikā) in two storeys adorned with golden Kalāśa, in front of the residence of the king (77). He also built at the confluence of the rivers Revā and Uru in the Kālakṣetra the temple of Vireśvara which he so named after the name of his king (i. e. Viradhavala) (78). At the sacred place called Kumbheśvara he built five abodes of ascetics, with all the materials for religious performances (79). This is in the Darbhāvati Praśasti."

219. The Authenticity of the contents of the Darbhāvati-praśasti supplied by the Vastupālacarita is corroborated by the fact that the installation of golden pitchers in the temple of Vaidyanātha has been also mentioned by the Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana (XI. 344), the Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī (vv. 175-76), and the first Vastupālapraśasti of Narendraprabhasūri (vy. 48-50). The putting of the statues of king Viradhavala, his queen and several of the minister's family-members has been referred to in the two latter works, while all the three are unanimous in saying that the golden pitchers were put in place of those carried away by king Subhāṭavarman of Mālavā, when he attacked Gujarāt. Unfortunately, we are unable to get the original text of the Darbhāvati-praśasti, and hence the literary evaluation of the work is not possible.

Grantha-Praśastis in praise of Vastupāla and his son Jaitrasimha

220. It has been pointed out earlier that Vastupāla had established three manuscript-libraries at Anahilavād, Stambhatīrtha and Bṛgukachha, at a heavy cost of money (para 61). It is an old tradition, especially among the Jains, that the persons who established such libraries or who got a large number of manuscripts copied down for such purposes would have their Praśastis appended at the end of each of the manuscripts (para 206), and we may believe that the manuscripts in the libraries established by Vastupāla also must have contained such Praśastis. But unfortunately, there is no trace now-a-days of those libraries. The Tapā Gachha Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ has a palm-leaf manu-

1 The original reads as प्रशस्ती न्वस्त्वानात्मकीर्त्तिमङ्गलपाठिके। I have translated in this way the word प्रशस्ती which is in the dual, because the closing words after verse 379 are इति दर्मावतीप्रशस्तौ, which shows that there was only one Praśasti, and not two. It was customary in old times to inscribe one Kāvya on two slabs and to put them on two different doors or two sides of the main door. Even to-day we can see that the two slabs of the Vaidyanāthapraśasti of Someśvara have been put on two door-sides of the famous Hirā Bhāgol at Darbhāvati. It may be remembered here that the Praśasti which we know of from the Vastupālacarita was composed to commemorate a Jaina temple built by Tejapāla in front of the Vaidyanātha temple.

script (no. 8) of the *Jītakalpa-cūrṇi-vyākhyā* of Śricandrasūri, copied down in V. S. 1284 (1228 A. D.). The text proper is completed on folio 107, while the subsequent folio (which bears the figure 108 in a later hand, the original page-figure having become illegible) has four verses in praise of Vastupāla. These four verses are respectively numbered from 37 to 40, and not referring to any historical incident in particular they indulge in hyperbolic praise of the conventional type that is found in some of the Praśastis.¹ It seems that these four verses are concluding portion of a long Praśasti of 40 verses. Several folios, subsequent to folio 107, of the said palm-leaf manuscript are presumably lost, and they must have contained the verses 1-35 of the Praśasti; some uncritical reader of the later times, not cognisant of the loss of these verses, may have written the figure 108 on the last folio, under the impression that no portion of his manuscript is missing. Anyhow, we can assume that the said manuscript may be a rare remnant of one of the public libraries established by Vastupāla, and that the extant verses on the last folio form the part of a longer Grantha-praśasti, which must have been appended at the end of the manuscripts in those libraries. This inference is supported by the fact that the above-mentioned four verses are not to be seen in any other available poems pertaining to Vastupāla, and hence we are justified in assuming that they are from an independent Praśasti-kāvya praising him. It may be rightly inferred that Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, was also instrumental in the copying down of a number of books, as there is a paper-manuscript in the Vādī Pārśvanātha Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ, which has at its end a Praśasti of 13 verses,² which gives the genealogy from Caṇḍapa to Jaitrasimha, and mentions that the book under reference was copied down for the spiritual welfare of the latter's son, Pratāpasimha. Originally the book must be on palm-leaves, from which it was taken down along with the Praśasti, when most of the manuscripts of the above-mentioned Bhāṇḍār were transcribed on paper in the fifteenth century with a view to preserving the contents of the old and worn-out palm-leaf manuscripts.

1 For the text of these four verses, see PBO, p. 400,

2 JPPS, pp. 9-10,

CHAPTER IX

STOTRAS

The Stotra in Sanskrit literature

221. Stotra or hymn is one of the well-practised forms of Sanskrit literature, and some of its productions are very remarkable specimens of lyrical poetry. In fact, of all the types of Sanskrit literature, the hymn is the oldest, because the earliest religious book of India, viz. the *R̥gveda*, is a collection of hymns. These hymns have for their subject Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Uṣas, and many other deities. In course of time, with the change of religious ideas and forms of worship, Viṣṇu and his various Avatāras and Śiva became the principal deities; and hymns began to be composed about them. Śakti in her various forms was also worshipped and hymns were addressed to her. The epics have a large number of hymns to various gods and goddesses uttered by different characters, and the Purāṇas and the Tantras afford many specimens of hymns, and we also find that collection of a hundred or thousand names of a god or a goddess become numerous. But the Stotra has established as an independent variety of lyric poetry, and the great popularity enjoyed by the Śivamahimnastotra, the Śivāparādhakṣamāpanastotra, the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra, and a number of Stotras—both long and short—ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya is an eloquent testimony to its value as a poetic form, and upto the most recent times the literary form of Stotra has been cultivated throughout India.

The Rāmaśataka of Someśvara

222. Among the literary works of the men of letters patronized by Vastu-pāla we find the composition of a number of Stotras also, the most noteworthy among them being the Rāmaśataka of Someśvara. The Rāmaśataka is unprinted, and available in manuscript-form. It is a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses as its very name suggests, and the metre uniformly used throughout is the Sragdharā. Verse 101, which is not, really speaking, the part of the hymn proper, is in the Upajāti metre and mentions the name of the author. The hymn praises Rāma, and is evidently modelled on the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra and the Caṇḍiśataka of Bāṇa, which are also hundred-verse hymns in the Sragdharā metre, and were popular in Sanskrit literature.¹ The praise in the Rāmaśataka follows the course of biographical events in Rāma's life. Verses 1-6 are devoted to his birth and child-plays and verses 6-8 to his training in various lores. Then we find protection of Viśvāmitra's sacrifice by Rāma (vv. 9-11), the killing of Tāḍakā and other demons (vv. 12-15), redemption of Ahalyā (vv. 16-19), Rāma's coming to Mithilā with Viśvāmitra, breaking of Śiva's bow and marriage with Sitā (vv. 20-31), going back from Mithilā and meeting Parasurāma (vv. 32-39), Daśaratha's desire to install Rāma as the king and Rāma's going to the forest (vv. 40-56), wanderings in the forest, the abduct-

1 The Jinaśataka of Jambu Guru (published in the *Kāvya-mālā*, Vol. VII) also is in 100 Sragdharā verses and appears to have continued the same tradition.

ion of Sītā, and Rāma's meeting with the monkeys (vv. 57-71), Hanumān's meeting with Sītā, building of the bridge on the ocean and the attack on Laṅkā (vv. 72-81), battle of Rāma and Rāvaṇa and the killing of the latter (vv. 82-85), Sītā's purification in fire, Rāma's coming to Ayodhyā, and coronation in the end (vv. 96-100).

223. Again, in this Stotra we find Someśvara as a poet of high calibre. As pointed out earlier, though his Rāmaśataka has been modelled on the Sūryaśataka and the Caṇḍiśataka, it is nowhere a verbal imitation of these older poems; we can only say that the poet was inspired by the popularity of these works. The Rāmaśataka is entirely free from the artificiality of some of the latter hymns—on the contrary, it has the quality of Prasād or perspicuity, like his Mahākāvya, Kirtikaumudī. It has that heart-felt fervour and devotion required in this type of lyrical poetry. These one hundred chiselled verses in Sragdharā also speak for the author's mastery over the longer metres. And this one hymn is enough to reserve a place of honour in the Stotra-literature for its author, Someśvara. I may quote here a few specimens from his poem. The poet praising Rāma refers to his childhood—

पर्यङ्के पङ्कजन्माङ्गिनतलविचलत्पाणिपादप्रवालः
खेलन् बालः प्रमोदं प्रथयतु मिथिलानाथपुत्रीपतिर्वः ।
पित्रोः पोतप्रतीतिः समभवदुच्चिता पुंसि यस्मिन् पुराणे
पारं संसारवार्द्धेन हि परमपरस्तं विना नेतुमीशः ॥

(v. 2)

The poet describes in a charming verse as to how different persons looked at Rāma—

पुण्यानां प्राक्तनानां फलमिति जनकेनान्तरात्मेति मात्रा
साक्षादक्षीयमाणप्रणयनिधिरिति भ्रातृभिश्च त्रिभिर्वैः ।
नीतिमूर्त्तौल्यमालैः परपुरुष इति ज्ञानिभिः ज्ञायमानः
प्राप प्रौढिं क्रमेण दृढयतु नितरां राघवः सः श्रियं वः ॥

(v. 6)

How the vernal beauty welcomed Rāma when he entered the forest—

सन्दोहे पादपानां विकिरति कुसुमस्त्रोममुच्चैः पिकानां
गीते नृत्यं श्रितास्तु व्रततिषु मरुता कीचकेषु ध्वनत्सु ।
संगीतं काननेन प्रथितमिव मुदा यव नाथे त्रयाणां
लोकानामभ्युपेतं स भवदवमयात् पातु पीतांबरो वः ॥

(v. 55)

Look to the Māyā of Rāma: Rāvaṇa attained salvation, because he was killed by Rāma, but while living he experienced the pains of hell, as he saw the relatives dying before his own eyes:

तस्माद् वः सर्वसिद्धिर्भवतु भगवतो भूरिमायाप्रपञ्चः
पञ्चत्वं प्राप्य यस्मादगमदमरतां राक्षसः सोऽपि सम्यक् ।
किन्तु श्रीकान्तकान्ताहठहरणमहापातकात्तेन काम-
व्यामोहान्धेन बन्धुक्षयनिरयरुजः सेहिरै जीवतेव ॥

(v. 92)

The Stotra in Jaina literature

224. Since very old times the Jainas also have vied with the poets of other sects in the sphere of religious lyrical poetry, as in almost all the literary forms. The Jaina literature can show a large number of Stotras in praise of various Tīrthaṅkaras and other deities as well as some philosophical Stotras, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Some of them are written for purposes of the cult, while several others are worthy of being appreciated as lyrical poems too, the earliest known hymn being the Uvasaggahara-stotra, a hymn to Pārś'vanātha in 5 stanzas, ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, who is believed by some scholars to have lived in the second century after Mahāvīra's death.¹ According to Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, this Bhadrabāhu is identical with Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Nirvyuktis on several Jaina Sūtras, but different from his name-sake who is the author of the Cheda Sūtras, and that he lived in the first half the of 6th century A. D. (vide Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajat Mahotsava Granth, pp. 185-201). Among other old and well-known Stotras of the Jainas, the Bhaktāmara-stotra of Mānatuṅga² and the Kalyāṇamandira-stotra of Siddhasena Divākara³ and the Svayambhū-stotra of Samantabhadra⁴ deserve mention. After that, right upto the 19th century we find numerous Stotras composed by the Jaina ascetics including the great Hemacandra as well as by lay adherents, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa as well as in old Gujarātī and several other regional dialects, and a few collections of such stotras like the Kāvya-mālā, Vol. VII, the Jaina Stotra Sandoha and the Jaina Stotra Samuccaya have already been published.

The Stotras by Vastupāla

225. Among the Stotras composed by the lay adherents those by Vastupāla are remarkable not only because they are from the pen of a notable historical personality, but also because they are not devoid of literary merits of the religious lyrics. Vastupāla has four Stotras to his credit. (i) The Ādinātha Stotra is a hymn to the first Tīrthaṅkara in 12 verses. The hymn is called स्तोत्रमय, because in it the author expresses his ardent longings in religious and philosophical matters. In the last verse the author mentions himself as the गुर्जरवक्त्रचित्तन्त्रिः or minister of the Gurjar sovereign. (ii) The Nemistava is a hymn to Neminātha in 10 verses, the hymn proper being an Aṣṭaka containing eight verses, because in the last two verses the author introduces himself. Here (v. 9) the poet calls himself शारदाधर्मेश्वरु or a spiri-

1 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 431. The Sūtra-kṛtāṅga Sūtra contains a chapter called वीरस्तव (Skt. वीरस्तव) which is, really speaking, a hymn to Mahāvīra.

2 According to some lists of teachers, Mānatuṅga lived as early as the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. Other traditions point to the 5th, 7th, 8th or 9th century as his period (Ibid, p. 549).

3 Some have put Siddhasena Divākara in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, while others believe that he flourished as late as the 7th century A. D. (Ibid, p. 477).

4 Samantabhadra is not later than the 7th century A. D. For his time, vide Mahendrakumar Shastri, Prameyakamalamārtanda, intro., pp. 30-32.

tual son of Sarasvatī. (iii) The Ambikā Stotra is a hymn in 10 verses to Ambikā who is the Śāsana-devatā of Neminātha and also the Kuladevatā of the Prāgvāta community to which Vastupāla belonged. This is also an Aṣṭaka, because in the 9th verse, there is a prayer for blessings to the devotee and the 10th verse mentions the author. Here Ambikā is described as 'the blessed one, born on the Himālayas' and 'Haimavatī' (v. 1), 'Kūṣmāṇḍī' (vv. 2, 3, and 4), 'honoured by Puruṣottama' (v. 6) and also as 'Sarasvatī' (v. 9), which shows how the Jaina and Brāhmanical elements were inextricably mixed in the later Jaina pathēon. (iv) The Ārādhana is a simple devotional lyric in 10 verses, speaking about the emptiness of worldly existence and reality of Dharma. Its first verse (न कृतं सुकृतं किञ्चित्) is found in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (v. 234), and the Prabandhakos'a (v. 337), and the Purāṇanaprabandhasaṁgraha (v. 202), and there it is put in Vastupāla's mouth when he was in his last days (vide para 63). Prabandhas are probably right in doing so, because in the last verse the author expresses his resolve to abandon food and thus desires to attain death by fasting like a pious Jaina.

226. If the Naranāyaṇānanda shows Vastupāla as a remarkable poet who attempted the form of the Mahākāvya, in these hymns we see him as a good lyric poet. The hymns are full of devotional fervour and at the same time reveal the author's command over literary style. A few examples will be sufficient to prove this. In what an ardent manner the author expresses his longing in the Ādinātha Stotra—

संसारव्यवहारतो रतिमऽतिव्यावर्त्य कर्तव्यतावार्तामप्यपहाय चिन्मयतया त्रैलोक्यमालोकयन् ।
श्रीशङ्खजयशैलगङ्गाहरगुहामध्ये निबद्धस्थितिः श्रीनाभेय कदा लभेय गलितश्रेयाभिमानं मनः ॥

(v. 5)

आस्यं कस्य न वीक्षितं ? क्व न कृता सेवा ? न के वा स्तुताः ? वृष्णापूरपराहतेन विहिता केषां च नाम्यर्थना ? ।
तत् त्रातरु विमलाद्रिनन्दनवनीकल्पैककल्पद्रुम त्वामासाद्य कदा कदर्थनमिदं भूयोऽपि नाहं सहे ॥

(v. 9)¹

And his lofty praise of Neminātha also deserves notice—

जयत्यसमसंयमः शमितमन्मथप्राभवो भवोदधिमाहातिर्दुरितदावापथोदरः ।
तपस्तपनपूर्वदिकलुपकर्मवल्लीगजः समुद्रविजयाङ्गजस्त्रिभुवनैकचूडामणिः ॥

(v. 1)

The Sarva-Jina-Sādhārana Stavana of Naracandra

227. The Sarva-Jina-Sādhārana Stavana of Naracandra is a hymn in 11 verses of Mālinī metre. As the very name of the poem suggests, it is not addressed to any particular Jina, but it is a hymn in general terms, such as would apply to all the Jinas. The hymn hardly possesses any noteworthy feature, except that every foot of each stanza begins with a charming alliteration, e. g.—

हरसि हरसिताभिः स्रजितशानलक्ष्म्या नयन नयनभामिखातरशानपङ्कम् ।
तमसि तमसितिन्ना लोकमाक्रान्तमिन्दुः करनिकरनिपातैः किं न शुभीकरोति ॥

(v. 7)

1 The verse is also found in the PK (v. 291) and the PPS (v. 172). It is noteworthy that in both these works the verse has been correctly ascribed to Vastupāla.

CHAPTER X

ANTHOLOGIES

Two types of Sanskrit anthologies

228. Anthologies are compilations of verses on several topics. They may be the composition of one author, like the *Subhāṣitaratnasandoha* (994 A. D.) of Amitagati or a selection from earlier authors, like the *Kavīndravacanasaṃmucaya* (end of the 10th century A. D.) and like several other well-known anthologies compiled thereafter. In the anthologies of the latter class, sometimes the names of the poets are given with the individual verses, and as such they are important for the history of literature, though in the majority of cases we have no evidence to determine the dates of the poets. But in this chapter we have to deal with the anthologies of the former class, viz. those from the pen of a single author. They are the *Karṇāmṛtaprapā* of *Somes'vara* and the *Vivekapāḍapa* and the *Vivekakalikā* of *Narendraprabhāsūri*.

The *Karṇāmṛtaprapā* of *Somes'vara*

229. The *Karṇāmṛtaprapā* is a collection of religious, devotional and didactic *Muktakas* composed by the author, and contains 217 verses in different metres. The work is unprinted, and available only in manuscript-form. Some of its verses can be traced, as will be seen in the next paragraph, to some of *Somes'vara*'s other works, while others cannot be so traced. They may have been from some other lost works of the author of which these might have formed a part, or more probably, they may have been new compositions for this particular purpose. In the colophon, the work has been designated as a *Subhāṣitāvalī* or collection of *Subhāṣitas*.¹ That the aim of the author is mainly religious and didactic is clear from the *Maṅgalācaraṇa*, which extends to first nine verses. The author salutes to *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śiva* to make an end of his *Karmas*, then salutes the sacred *Ganges* and pays homage to the three *Vedas* residing in his own mouth (v. 5), and in verse 7 he says that the aim of his work is 'good instruction' (*Sādhubodha*). The work is divided into 14 different sections, each devoted to a single theme, like *Lakṣmī* or wealth (vv. 10-19), desire (vv. 20-25), anger (v. 26), greed (v. 27), form of the *Kali* (vv. 28-39), censure of bad kings (vv. 40-56), the bad people (vv. 57-65), the learned men (vv. 66-70), fate (vv. 71-79), indifference to worldly objects (vv. 80-109); in addition, there are miscellaneous poems (vv. 110-45) which contain a number of *Anyoktis*, verses on quietism (vv. 146-62), didactic verses (vv. 163-96), and lastly, prayer to *Kṛṣṇa* (vv. 196-216), which contains some verses in praise of *Śiva* also. The last verse refers to the poet.

230. Verse 109 of the *Karṇāmṛtaprapā* describing the sorry plight of *Anahilavād*, capital of the *Gurjar* land (गुण्डेव खण्डितनिरन्तरवृक्षखण्डा०) can be traced to the *Kīrtikaumudī* (II. 104). Verse 108 (सिद्धेशप्रमुखैः पुरा परिहृतं०)

1 इति श्रीठक्कुरसोमेश्वरविरचिता कर्णामृतप्रपा सुभाषितावली संपूर्णा ॥

also dilates upon the same topic, but is not to be found in any of the author's known works. Among the Anyoktis, the verse 124 (मात्रान् मांसलपाटलापरिमलं) is to be found in the Prabandhakos'a (v. 329) and the Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 80), and in both these works it is correctly ascribed to Someśvara. Verses 106 and 107 (तिष्ठत्येव तवान्तिके० and तानेव स्तुनहे महेश०) are in memory of the departed king Sidhharāja Jayasimha. Verses 177-96 seem to have been composed under the influence of the Carpaṭapañjarikā Stotra ascribed to Saṃkarācārya, as both metre and style suggest. As for example—

चित्तं तदखिलमपि परिगलितं प्रादुर्भूतं शिरसि च पलितम् ।
तदपि न हृदयं विषयवितुषं संसेवितुमभिलष्यति कृष्णम् ॥
इयमपि दशनश्रेणी पतिता सा च समाप्ता जगदधिपतिता ।
तज्जगदाश्रयमाश्रय देवं हृदय विरस्यसि दुःखादेवम् ॥
सत्पात्रेषु न दत्तं दानं मन्ये तत्तव दौस्थ्यनिदानम् ।
प्रणतः क्वचिदपि न स गोविन्दस्तदयं प्रहरति कालपुल्लिन्दः ॥

(v. 177-79)

These may be compared with the following verses of the Carpaṭapañjarī—

अङ्गं गलितं पलितं मुण्डं दशनविहीनं जातं तुण्डम् ।
बुद्धो याति गृहीत्वा दण्डं तदपि न मुञ्चत्याशापिण्डम् ॥

(v. 6)

गेयं गीतानामसहस्रं ध्येयं श्रीपतिरूपमजलम् ।
नेयं सज्जनसंगे चित्तं देयं दीनजनाय च वित्तम् ॥

(v. 13)

Though Someśvara has given these 20 verses as a part of his anthology, they form an independent didactic-philosophical poem and as such deserves notice.

231. If the Kirtikaumudī shows Someśvara's success in the Mahākāvya form, his Karṇāmṛtaprapā testifies to his being equally an adept in the composition of the Muktakas. It is noteworthy that the author maintains almost the same poetic level throughout the work, and most of the verses from the Karṇāmṛtaprapā can be cited as excellent examples of gnomic and didactic poetry. The diction is very simple and forceful, and one feels as if the author is inspired by a religious motive. I shall quote here a few verses. In the beginning the author bows to the three Vedas which reside in his mouth, and which are like a medicine prepared from three bitter roots for persons like himself, afflicted by ignorance—

विषयरसनिरन्तरानुपानप्रकुपितमोहकफोपशुम्फितात्मा ।
त्रिकटुकशुटिकामिव त्रिवेदी वदनगतामहमन्वहं नमामि ॥

(v. 5)

At another place he praises the Dhīra or stout-hearted fellow—

कुरुतां विधिर्विरुद्धं तत्कृतमनुमोदतां च पिशुनजनः । न मनागपि धीरमनाः कुप्यति तस्मै च तस्मै च ॥

(v. 78)

He has a fling at the rich people, generally averse to learning—

धत्ते व्याकरणं न कोऽपि कवितां कुत्रापि नार्थत्यसौ तर्कं मर्कटवन्न कोऽपि निकटीकर्तुं कदापीच्छति ।
वेदादुद्धिजते जनस्तदपरं नैवाल्पमप्यस्ति मे आतर्जल्यं पणेन केन तदहं वित्तं धनिभ्यो लभे ॥

(v. 98)

The author expresses his heart-felt desire for doing religious meditation in a lonely place—

नगोपान्ते कान्ते क्वचिदपि निजुञ्जे श्रुतिजपैरुपेन्द्रध्यानैर्वा सकलमपि कालं गमयतः ।
हिमाकारं हारि त्रिदशतटिनीवारि पिबतः कदा कन्दैर्द्वृत्तिर्मम शमरतेरीह भविता ॥

(v. 152)

And he is determined to worship the feet of Dāmodara in any circumstances—

स्वयं श्रीपायातु प्रकृतिचपला यातु यदि वा शिवाः कश्चिद् वाचो वदतु यदि वा वक्त्रु विरसाः ।
तथाप्येते भ्रातर्न खलु विलसामो न च वयं विषीदामो दामोदरचरणचर्यासु रसिकाः ॥

(v. 159)

He advises ignorant in the following expressive words—

वित्तं दमय मा कूर्चं वृत्तं संस्कुरु मा वपुः । गीतां च शृणु मा गीतं पुरुषं पदय मा स्त्रियम् ॥

(v. 164)

In the end he prays the divine father to save him—the poet—from worldly existence—

त्वमसि न तथा तात ध्यातः प्रमादितया मया फलमभिमतं निःशङ्कस्त्वां यथाऽहमिहाप्ये ।
तदपि करुणात्मानं मत्वा भवन्तमुपाश्रितस्तदवतु जवान्माभेतसाद् भवाभिभावाद् भवान् ॥

(v. 216)

It hardly requires to be said that certain sections of the anthology betray influences of the *Nīṭisataka* and the *Vairāgyasataka*, though it is to the author's credit that those influences are not verbal, but only in the matter of treatment and style. It is but natural that a later poet like *Someśvara* should derive inspiration from a great predecessor like *Bhartṛhari*.

The *Vivekapādapa* and the *Vivekakalikā* of *Narendraprabha*

232. The *Vivekapādapa* and the *Vivekakalikā* are two collections of verses on Jaina religious and philosophical topics from the pen of *Narendraprabhasūri*. Unfortunately, the only palm-leaf manuscript (no. 52 of the incomplete section, in the *Samghavi Pādā Bhāṇḍār* at *Paṭaṇ*) in which these two anthologies are found is fragmentary, and hence the works are available in a fragmentary state. From the figures on the last folio of the *Vivekapādapa* we know that the complete work would contain 421 verses, but only 109 verses are available from the extant folios. In the same way the *Vivekakalikā* has 110 verses, but 69 out of them are to be found in the manuscript. Extant portion of the former work is uniformly in the *Anuṣṭup* metre, except the two *Prasastislokaś* which are in the *Śārdūla* and the *Vasantatilakā* respectively, while the latter work is composed in a variety of metres. Though the author has intended both the works as collections of verses on Jaina religious topics, many of the *slokaś* are in the nature of sayings on general morality, good

conduct and human virtues. Though the writings of Narendraprabha cannot be compared in literary merit with the Karjāmrtaprapā, his verses are simple and touching. As for example, he gives a verse on the value of mercy in human life—

दयादयितया शून्ये मनोलीलागृहे नृणाम् । दानादिद्रुताहृतोऽपि धर्मोऽयं नावनिष्ठे ॥

(VP, v. 24)

Praising the Guru he says—

दिनं न तपनं विना न शशिनं विना कौमुदी श्रियो न सुकृतं विना न जगती विना विक्रमम् ।
कुलं न तनयान्विना न सभतां विना निवृत्तिगुरुंश्च न विना नृणां भवति धर्मतत्त्वश्रुतिः ॥

(VK, v. 12)

The author gives several good verses on speaking truth, out of which one may be quoted—

विवेकस्य प्राणाः श्रुतरसरहस्यं शुभधियः प्रकारः प्राकारः सुचरितपुरस्त्रोन्नततरः ।
गुणानां जीवातुः प्रशमदमसन्तोषनिकृषः सुखश्रीपङ्कजो वचनमनलीकं सुकृतिनाम् ॥

(VK, v. 39)

And he pays homage to Jñāna or knowledge, fancying it to be a divine being—

किं कृत्स्नं किमकुलमेव किमुपादेयं च हेयं च किं देवः कश्च गुरुश्च कः किमथवा तत्त्वं कुतस्त्वं च किम् ।
संसारश्च क एव मुक्तिरपि केत्येवं यतः सर्वतो निश्चीयेत विवेकिभिर्भवते ज्ञानाय तस्मै नमः ॥

(VK, v. 80)

CHAPTER XI

PRABANDHAS

The Prabandha is a form of literature; Prabandha as material for history

233. The Prabandha is a form of literature peculiar to Gujarāt and Māl-vā, and especially cultivated by the Jaina writers. The name Prabandha is given to a historical anecdote generally written in simple Sanskrit prose, and sometimes in verse. The Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga (1305 A. D.), the Prabandhakos'a of Rājas'ekharasūri (1349 A. D.), the Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri (completed in 1333 A. D.) and the Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla (circa 16th century A. D.) are well-known instances of the Prabandhas in prose, while the Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandrasūri (1277 A. D.) is a collection of Prabandhas in verse. Rājas'ekhara, the author of the Prabandhakos'a, has tried, in the introductory portion of his book,¹ to make a distinction between a Caritra and a Prabandha. According to him, the Caritras are the biographies of the Tirthamkaras, of the Cakravartins or sovereigns according to the Jaina mythology, of ancient kings, and also of the religious pontiffs upto Ārya Raksitasūri, who died in the year 557 after Mahāvira or in 30 A. D. Accounts of the persons who flourished after Ārya Raksita, monks as well as laymen, have been given the name Prabandha by Rājas'ekhara. We cannot say whether Rājas'ekhara has some older authority for making this distinction or whether it is of his own making. Whatever the case may be, this type of distinction in nomenclature has not been always observed in actual compositions, because the works dealing with the life of persons like Kumārapāla, Vastupāla and Jagaḍu who flourished as late as in the 12th and 13th century have been styled as Caritra, e. g. the Kumārapālacaritra of Jinamaṇḍana (1335-36 A. D.), the Vastupālacaritra of Jinaharsa (1441 A. D.) and the Jagaḍucaritra of Sarvānanda (14th century A. D.). Though the Prabandhas deal with historical personages, the motives with which they were written "are to edify the congregations, to convince them of the magnificence and the might of the Jaina faith and to supply the monks with the material for their sermons, or when the subject is purely of worldly interest, to provide the public with pleasant entertainment."² Therefore, the Prabandhas should be treated not as so many real histories or biographies, but only as material to be critically used for historical purposes.

The Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra

234. The work with which we are to deal here is the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra, which being composed during the life-time of Vastupāla for the instruction of his son Jaitrasimha (para 117), is the oldest collection of the Prabandhas discovered as yet. The only available manuscript of this work contains 40 Prabandhas in prose—most of them dealing with historical persons and topics pertaining to Gujarāt, Rājasthān and Māl-vā, while a few give stories taken from folklore. It has come down in a form, which cannot be

¹ PK, p. 1.

² Bühler, *Life of Hemacandrācārya*, p. 3.

called complete. There appears to be some interpolations in the text, because it refers to certain events, which occurred after the death of Vastupāla, and a Prabandha (viz. the Valabhibhaṅga-Prabandha) has been literally copied down from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi.¹ Two Prabandhas from the work under review (viz. the Pādaliptācārya Prabandha and the Ratnasāravaka Prabandha) have been adapted in the Prabandhakos'a.² There we cannot say that these portions have been copied down and interpolated in the work under review by some later writer or copyist, because the style of this work is very simple and rudimentary as intended for some elementary student of Sanskrit, while that of the Prabandhakos'a is comparatively cultured and elevated, which shows that the author of the Prabandhakos'a has taken these two chapters from the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra, making some stylistic and linguistic improvements. It may be said on the whole that the later Prabandhas appear to be indebted to the Prabandhāvali for some of their matter, and that is why it is included by Jinavijayaji in the Purāṇanaprabandhasaṁgraha, which forms a companion-volume to the Prabandhacintāmaṇi. It is noteworthy that the Prabandhāvali quotes in the Pṛthvirāja Prabandha four Apabhraṁśa verses, three out of which are traced in a corrupt form to the Pṛthvirāja Rāso ascribed to the poet Canda, a friend and contemporary of the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi. These citations have gone a long way to show that the published Pṛthvirāja Rāso is not a later work in toto, as some scholars are inclined to believe, but that the Rāso has very old nucleus, which is earlier than at least 1234 A. D., the date of Jinabhadra's work.³

235. The Prabandhāvali has got a peculiar literary importance. It is an example of a type of literary medium in which Sanskrit was, so to say, vernacularized. It popularized the knowledge of Sanskrit and served as a stepping-stone to the more advanced study of Sanskrit, at least among the Vais'ya classes of the Gurjarades'a. Thus the language of the Prabandhāvali is replete not only with Prakritisms, but also with the words taken from the regional dialect of the time, so much so that it would be difficult for the reader who does not know something of Prakrits and of old and modern Gujarātī to grasp the meaning of certain words and expressions. They are also found in other Prabandhas and some of the Katha-works written by the Jainas of Gujarāt, and are generally unknown to other parts of India. It may be noted in this connection that in ancient and mediaeval India, Sanskrit was not merely the language of the priestly class and the scholars. It was also the language of the court and of diplomacy, and it was a spoken language down to comparatively recent times. In Gujarāt, even after the establishment of Muslim rule the legal documents were written in a colloquial Sanskrit, and they were accepted by the courts for the purpose of registration.⁴ Sanskrit was even understood by a considerable part of the population which

1 PPS, intro., p. 8.

2 Ibid, p. 7.

3 Ibid, pp. 8-10.

4 PT, Vol. IV, pp. 1ff.; JGRS, Vol. XI, pp. 89 ff.

did not itself use it. "Of course, the Sanskrit spoken or understood by those who were no scholars, was a popular and colloquial one, not the highly artificial language of Kāvya verse and prose. The speakers of this colloquial Sanskrit did not study Pāṇini or Hemacandra, but such books as the *Mugdhāvabodhamauktika*. The Śvetāmbar authors of Gujarāt used this colloquial Sanskrit in their stories in order to make them intelligible to their public."¹ Not that the Jaina authors were incapable of expressing themselves in literary Sanskrit, but they tried to approach the general public by the style which may be described as a type of 'vernacular-Sanskrit,' as pointed out above, and may be compared with a similar mixed language of the northern Buddhists, known as the 'Gāthā Sanskrit,' the language of works like the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*. Prof. Zachariae has published a list of words which exclusively occur in the Kāshmirian authors, and Prof. Schmidst has supplemented this list.² It would be interesting from literary, linguistic as well as from the cultural point of view if such a list—which is bound to be a lengthy one—is prepared from the Jaina writers of Gujarāt. Dr. Hertel in his edition (pp. 291-95) of the *Pañcākhyāna* of Pūrṇabhadra and Dr. Upādhye in his introduction (pp. 101-10) to the *Bṛhat Kathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, also a Jaina writer from Gujarāt, have given lists of words 'peculiar to Jaina Sanskrit occurring in their respective texts; and a large number of these words can be shown as related etymologically, phonetically and semantically to the forms prevalent in old and modern Gujarātī. I shall give here a short, but representative list of such words from the *Prabandhāvali*—वर (pp. 13, 32; Prakrit वर / Skt. गृह, Guj. वर, 'a house'), सलसलितम् (p. 13; Guj. ससद्धु, 'moved'), महीशरी (p. 14; < Skt. *मथितकारी > महिअशरी, Guj. महियारी, 'a milk-maid'), कुतिगिया (p. 47; from Skt. कौतुकिनाः, cf. old Guj. कुतिग < Skt. कौतुक, 'a curiosity'. The word कुतिगिया means 'a joker.'), दोसिक (p. 39; Guj. दोसी / Skt. दौषिक, 'a cloth-merchant'), ओलगा (p. 54; 'service'. The word is freely used as ओलग and ओळग in old and modern Gujarātī. cf. Old Marāṭhī ओलग, वोळग; Kanarese उळिग), चुपंमाला (p. 59; Guj. चूवरमाल, 'a number of small bells'), शल्यहस्त (p. 86; lit. 'one who holds a spear in his hand,' that is, 'a state-officer'. The word is used as सेलहत्य शेळहुत and शेजेत in old Gujarātī in the sense of 'a state-officer,' cf. the Pṛthvicandracaritra-1422 A. D.-printed in the *Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya-saṁgraha*, p. 128; Pethada Rāsa-14th century-v. 22; Mādhavānala-Kāma-kandalā Prabandha, VII. 482 and 494. It is also preserved as a surname, शेळत, among the Khedāvāla Brāhmins of Gujarāt, though obliterated from general usage in the current language. Vide my paper in the Gujarātī journal *Buddhiprakāśa*, January, 1952), द्वारमट्ट (p. 86; cf. Guj. बारहट्ट, बारोट, 'a bard'), अंधारी (p. 86; Guj. अंधारी / Skt. *अंधकारी, 'black cellar of the prison'), सारिका (p. 89; Guj. सारी, 'a bundle of wood'), टिप्पा (p. 89; from Skt. तिप् 'to sprinkle'; Guj. टीपु, 'a drop'), खडखडा (p. 89; Guj. खटंखट, 'trouble'), मेलापक (p. 89; old Guj. मेलाको, 'military array'), धगड (p. 90, 'a Muslim warrior,' cf. Guj. धगडो, 'a bully'), घाटी (p. 102; Guj. घाड, 'a raid'), भेलित (p. 103; old Guj. भेल्यो, 'plundered'; cf. पडी भेल प्रासादि देवनह, भागां कुंची तालां. 'The shrine of the god was

1 Hertel, *On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarāt*, pp. 17-18.

2 Ibid, p. 19;

plundered (पडी भेड़) and the keys and locks were broken'—The Kāṇhaḍade Prabandha of Padmanābha, composed in 1456 A. D., I. 93). Some words of Persian and Arabic origin like दुर्वैष (p. 86; Persian *Durviṣh* 'a religious man') and नसीति (p. 86; Arabic *Masjid* 'a mosque') are also adapted here. Some of the words cited above are also to be found in other New Indo-Aryan languages of India, but that does not weaken our main argument, because the author lived in Gujarāt, and it is but natural that he adapted certain colloquial words and expressions from the spoken language with which he was most familiar.

236. Though the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra is written in this type of Sanskrit prose, it is occasionally sprinkled with a number of verses in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and also in Apabhraṃśa. The Apabhraṃśa verses are mostly in the Dūhā metre, and they appear to have been taken by the author from folk-literature. It would be interesting to refer in this connection to the Apabhraṃśa verses put in the mouth of Sonaladevī queen of Khamṅūra, the chief of Jirṇadūrga (modern Junāgaḍh), when he was slain by the forces of Siḍdharāja Jayasinha. The Prabandhāvali quotes 13 such verses (pp. 34–35). Six out of these are found with slight variations in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (p. 65), which was composed 71 years later, and it has two more which are not available in the Prabandhāvali. All these verses are still widely current in the folk-lore of Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra, though naturally they are found in the modern linguistic grab.¹ But their prevalence throughout a long period extending over more than seven hundred years speaks for the popularity of this kind of folk-literature, specimens of which have been preserved in the works like this Prabandhāvali.

1 For minute linguistic comparison of the Apabhraṃśa Dūhās from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi with their modern Gujarātī versions, vide N. B. Divatia, Manomukura (Guj.), Vol. II, pp. 27 ff.

CHAPTER XII

A COLLECTION OF JAINA DHARMAKATHĀS

Dharmakathā-literature of the Jainas

237. Narrating entertaining stories and listening to them are deep-rooted in human nature, as we find from the folk-lore of all the countries of the world. The folk-stories have been adapted in literature merely as charming fiction or have been utilized for various purposes, both secular and religious. Talking of Indian literature, the lost *Bṛhatkathā* of which *Prākṛit* and *Sanskrit* versions are found in the *Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī* (about 5th century A. D.), and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (both composed in the 11th century A. D.) was a great store-house of secular stories, collected with the sole purpose of literary entertainment. The *Pañcatantra* is a famous story-book in which the folk-tales are utilized for teaching worldly wisdom and also the elements of politics, while the *Jātaka* and the large number of stories found in *Jaina* literature are the instances of *Dharmakathā* or story used for religious purposes.

238. Buddhists and the Jainas were great story-tellers, because story was one of the means by which their religious precepts could be preached in a popular form. The *Jaina* canon is traditionally divided into four *Anuyogas* or sections, of which one is the *Dharmakathānuyoga* which deals with religious stories, and the *Jñātādharma-kathā* has been considered as a representative text of that section. The *Prākṛit* and *Sanskrit* commentaries of the *Jaina* canonical works contain not only a mass of ancient traditions and legends, but also numerous folk-tales and stories, and the versified *Caritras* of the *Tīrthaṅkaras* and other religious personalities were often used as frame-work in which all types of stories could be inserted. But apart from all these, the *Jaina* authors have to their credit a vast story-literature in *Sanskrit*, *Prākṛit*, *Apabhraṃśa* and modern *Indian* languages. "All these works, be they stories in plain prose or in simple verse or elaborate poems, novels or epics, are all essentially sermons. They are never intended for mere entertainment, but always serve the purpose of religious instruction and edification."¹

239. The *Jaina* literature can show scores of story-works, but a great majority of them have been composed after the 10th century. As we go to the earlier centuries the number of available works progressively decreases, and we hardly get ten works in all composed during the first millenium after Christ. *Pādalīpta's* great religious novel, *Taraṅgavatī* (before the 5th century A. D.) is known only through a shorter version prepared by *Nemicandra* about 1000 years later; and other ancient works like the *Malayavatī*, the *Magadhasenā*, the *Bandhumatī* and the *Sulocanā* are known only through literary references.² The *Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī* of *Samgha-dāsa* is a *Jaina* version in *Prākṛit* of the lost *Bṛhatkathā*, and presents itself as

1 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Pt. II, p. 521.

2 JSS, Vol. III, p. 194.

a monumental remain of the Jaina Dharmakathā-literature which flourished after the Āgama-period. The Samarāicca-kathā of Haribhadrasūri, the Kuvalayamālākathā of Udyotanasūri and the Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākathā of Sidhharṣi are three other old Dharmakathās, to which I have already referred in the first chapter. The Br̥hatkathākośa of Hariṣeṇa is a collection of Dharmakathās composed in the 10th century A. D. In later times the Jains, in addition to composing long and elaborate Kathā-works on the ancient model, also compiled books of stories,¹ in which the stories are either inserted within a frame-story, in the manner familiar in Indian narrative literature or else they are just told one after another.

Kathāratnākara of Naracandrasūri

240. The Kathāratnākara or Kathāratnasāgara of Naracandrasūri with which we have to deal here is a work belonging to the later category. It is unprinted and available only in manuscript-form. The Granthāgra of the work is 2091 ślokaś;² It has been divided into 15 Taraṅgas or chapters and each chapter contains a story illustrating the merit attained by adhering to some principle taught by the Jaina religion. It is possible that the author may have been inspired, in calling his work Kathāratnākara and dividing it into Taraṅgas, by the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva, though there is no similarity between their contents. The whole work has been written in the Anuṣṭup metre, but the concluding verse of every chapter is in a different metre. Virtues like chastity, penance, giving donations, humility, non-killing of living beings, non-stealing, serving the elders, not envying others, repeating the Navakāra Mantra for attaining religious merits, etc. have been extolled in these stories, by showing how the principal characters got the fruit of these moral and religious practices either in this or in the next birth. The narrative is dull and monotonous in style, and the work has to give nothing very valuable from the view-point of literature. Though it is from the pen of a scholar like Naracandra and composed at Vastupāla's request (para 119) it seems to have been written with an eye on a purely religious audience, probably for the daily Vyākhyāna, and the principal aim of the author seems to impress on the mind of the lay adherents the importance of good conduct from the point of view of the Jaina religion. It may be noted here that the Kathāratnākara is a collection of Jaina religious stories composed in comparatively earlier times, as the majority of the Kathākośas are later than our author.³

1 JRK, pp. 65–67. For a short survey of some such works, vide Winternitz, *op. cit.*, 541 ff.

2 JRK, p. 66.

3 Ibid, pp. 64–67; Upadhye, *Br̥hat Kathākośa*, intro., pp. 39 ff.

CHAPTER XIII

APABHRAṂŚA RĀSAS

A short history of the Rāsaka or Rāsa

241. Though this book is mainly devoted to Sanskrit literary contribution of the literary circle of Vastupāla, it would not be inappropriate here to review two Apabhramśa Rāsas composed by the poets of the circle, because they are also a part of the great literary activity patronized by the minister. These two Rāsas are the Revantagiri Rāsu of Vijayasena-sūri and the Ābu Rāsa of Pālhaṇaputra. But before coming to these poems we shall consider what is to be understood by the literary form of Rāsa or Rāsu (Skt. Rāsaka) which was very popular in Apabhramśa as well as in old Gujarāti literature.

242. The Rāsaka was not meant for mere recitation or reading, but was composed with a view to be sung and danced. This type of composition which would be compared to ballet dance, must have been originally a piece of folk-dance and music. Later on, when a comprehensive survey of the different types of actable literary compositions was made, they were classified under two main heads- (i) the one included the compositions which mainly provided for recitation and acting, and (ii) the other provided for singing and dancing. The Rāsaka from which the form Rāsa or Rāsu is derived comes under the latter head. The oldest extant reference to this classification—which includes Dombikā, Bhāṇa, Prasthāna, Śidgaka, Bhāṇikā, Rāmākṛida, Hallīsaka and Rāsaka—is found in the Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.), and there Rāsaka has been defined as follows—

अनेकनर्तकीयोज्यं चित्रताललयान्वितम् । आचतुष्पष्टियुगलाद्रासकं मसृणोद्धतम् ॥¹

from which we know that the Rāsaka was a Geya Rūpaka, was full of charming rhythm, in which a number of dancing women took part, in which a maximum of 64 pairs were allowed to play, and which was at times soft and excited. Later on, we find that the classification and definition mentioned above were adopted by Hemacandra in the Kāvyaṇu-Śāsana (VIII. 4) and by Vāgbhaṭa II in his Kāvyaṇuśāsana (p. 18). Rāmacandra, the pupil of Hemacandra, in his Nāṭyadarpaṇa (Vol. I, pp. 214-15) and Viśvanātha in Sāhityadarpaṇa (Kane's ed., pp. 104-5) have also given the characteristics of Rāsaka and Nāṭya-rāsaka. It appears that in older times, the folk-dances were current in different parts of India, though we have no definite evidence to say in what particular parts the particular type of folk-dance prevailed. In this connection we have an interesting legendary account in the Saṃgītaratnākara of Śaṃgadeva (circa 1200 A. D.), which appears to have preserved some historical traditions. We find therein that Śiva created the Tāṇḍava type of dance, while Pārvatī created the Lāsya type of dance. Pārvatī taught this dance to Uśā,

the daughter of Bāpāsura and wife of Anirudhha, the grandson of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; and Uṣā, in her turn, taught it to the Gopis of Dvāravati, and they taught it to the young women of Saurāṣṭra, through whom it spread throughout the world.¹ This tradition is corroborated by the prevalence of different types of folk-dances known as Rāsas, Rāsaṇas, Garabās and Garabīs prevalent in Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra even to-day.

243. From all this it may be surmised that the Rāsaka or Rāsa was a type of folk-dance, comparable to the Rāsa-Kriṇā of Kṛṣṇa described in the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas, and also to the Garabā dance peculiar to Gujarāt (alternatively known as Rāsa); it was later on adapted as a literary piece to be acted, mostly in Prākṛit. That the Rāsa was actually played in public is evident from several literary references. The last verse of the Revantagiri Rāsu refers to the actual performance of the Rāsa—

रंगिहिं ए रमइ जो रानु सिरिविजयनेतसूरिनिम्मविड ए ।

नेमिजिणु तूनइ तासु अंकि पूद मणि रली ए ॥

“Jina Neminātha will favour those who play with enthusiasm this Rāsa composed by Śrī Vijayasenasūri, and goddess Ambikā will fulfill their desires.”

The Saptakṣetri Rāsu (1271 A. D.) speaks of two types of Rāsas—viz. Tālārāsa and Lakutārāsa.² By the former category is meant that kind of Rāsa-dance in which the timing was given by clapping of hands, while the latter category which is known in Gujarāt as Dāṇḍī Rāsa, denotes that in which the timing is given by the short sticks (Lakuta) held in the hands of the dancers. Lakṣmaṇagaṇi, the author of the Supāsanāhacariya (1143 A. D.), has described the action in the Rāsa-dance as केवि उत्तालाडलं रसवं,³ and thus he refers to that type of Rāsa in which timing was given by clapping of hands.

244. Thus it is clear that the Rāsa as a folk-dance and as adapted in literature was originally meant to be performed. We get a number of Rāsas from Gujarāt in Apabhraṁśa or a post-Apabhraṁśa dialect which was current in the province, the oldest available specimen of this literary form being the Bharata Bāhubali Rāsa of Śālibhadrasūri (1185 A. D.). Later on, in Old Gujarātī the Rāsa form became stereotyped and generally denoted the versified narratives from the Jaina mythology which were recited in Upāśrayas, and we have to put hundreds of works in this category.⁴

The Revantagiri Rāsu of Vijayasenasūri

245. The Rāsa is generally divided into Bhāsa (Skt. Bhāṣā) or Kaḍavaka or sometimes as in old Gujarātī literature into Dhāla, which

¹ Saṃgitaratnākara, VII. 4-8.

² PGKS, p. 52.

³ Munshi, Gujarāt and its Literature, p. 88.

⁴ For a descriptive list of such Rāsas, vide M. D. Desai, Jaina Gurjara Kavīo (Guj.), Vols. I-III.

may be translated as "rhythmical verse-paragraphs". The Revantagiri-Rāsu of Vijayasenasūri has four Kaṭavakas and 62 verses in all. The first Kaṭavaka, after the benediction, refers briefly to the beautiful Sorāṭha country (Southern Saurāṣṭra) where Girnār is situated (vv. 2-5), and gives the genealogy of Vastupāla, mentioning the instruction imparted to him by Vijayasenasūri and the pious deeds which it inspired (vv. 6-11), and describes the joy of the pilgrim-caravan on seeing the vernal beauty at the foot of Girnār (vv. 12-20). The second and the third Kaṭavakas give some old history of the Girnār Tīrtha and an account of the temples built there by Vastupāla, the second Kaṭavaka being interspersed with some good descriptions of the wood-land. The last Kaṭavaka praises goddess Ambikā and Neminātha, and dwells at some length on the religious greatness of Girnār. The style of the work is very simple and unassuming. Poetically the composition is interesting, and description of Girnār in the second Kaṭavaka may be regarded as worthy of note—

जिम जिम चडई तडि कडणि गिरनारह, तिम तिम उडई जण भवण संसारह ।
 जिम जिम सेउजलु अंगि पलोदुए, तिम तिम कलिमलु सयलु ओदुदुए ॥
 जिम जिम वायइ वाउ तहि निज्झरसीयलु, तिम तिम भवदुहदाहो तकखणि तुट्टइ निच्चलु ।
 कोइलकलवो मोरकेकारवो, सुम्मए महुयर महुर् गुंजारवो ।
 पाय चडंतह सावयालोयणी लावारामु दिसि दीसए दाहिणी ॥
 जलदजालववाले नीज्झरणि रमाउलु, रेहइ उज्जिलसिहर् अलि-कज्जलसामलु ।
 बहलुडु धाउरसभेउणी जत्थ उलदलइ सोवन्नमइ मेउणी ।
 जत्थ दिपंति दिव्वोसही सुंदरा, गुहिर वर गरुय गंभीर गिरिकंदरा ॥

(vv. 2-4)

"As the people ascend the slopes of Girnār, they close (the doors of) the house of worldly existence. As the limbs perspire with exertion, impurities of the Kali are washed away. As the winds, cool with the waters of streams, are blowing gently, the burning caused by the worries of worldly existence are ended instantly. Cooing of the cuckoo, cry of the peacock and sweet humming of the bees—are heard. While ascending the steps (of the mountain), the Śrāvakas see on the right side (the park) Lakhārāma. The peak of Girnār, enclustered by a large number of clouds, charming on account of many streams and black like the bees and the collirium, looks beautiful. (It is Girnār,) where the land having golden colour and full of various kinds of minerals, looks resplendent; where the celestial herbs are shining, and which has impenetrable, excellent, great and deep caves."

The Ābu Rāsa of Pālhaṇaputra

246. The Ābu Rāsa of Pālhaṇaputra or the son of Pālhaṇa is a poem in 50 stanzas describing the building of temples on Ābu by Vastupāla and Teja-pāla. The poem is divided into Bhāsa and Thavaṇī, which occur alternately. All the information supplied by this poem is available from other sources, except the fact that the image of Neminātha installed in the Ābu temple was made at Stambhatīrtha, which would show that the image-making and allied arts were flourishing at the place. Though the poem has nothing noteworthy from literary point of view, it deserves notice from the historical and linguistic standpoint as a work describing in the popular dialect a notable event of Vastupāla's times.

CHAPTER XIV

WORKS ON POETICS

Development of Alamkāra-literature

247. Though Sanskrit poetry goes back to the second millenium B. C.—or probably earlier—when the hymns of the R̥gveda may have been composed, the oldest reference to anything concerning to poetics is not found before the 6th or 7th century B. C. The Alamkāraśāstra is not mentioned in the Vedāṅgas nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas or the earlier Upaniṣads in which we may find a real basis for the system of poetics.¹ In the Nirukta of Yāska (circa 700 B. C.) we find a reference to the Pūrnā and Luptā varieties of Upamā. The Nighaṇṭu brings particles like *Iva*, *Yathā*, etc. under the crude term Upamā, and Yāska has cited a definition of Upamā by Gārgya, from among his predecessors², which would show that some elements of Sanskrit poetics are earlier even than Yāska, who is himself earliest extant exponent of the Veda. The great grammarian Pāṇini (circa 500 B. C.) uses technical terms like Upamā, Upamita, Sāmānya, Upamāna, etc. with a facility indicative of the fact that they were in general vogue before his time, and his grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparision is the nearest approach among early writings to the technical conception of poetics.³ The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya mentions the excellences of literary compositions, and defines them in a manner which does not materially differ from the later writers on poetics.

248. Considerable development of the science of poetics in India can be seen before the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (circa 300 A. D.). The work contains the first available exposition of the Rasa-theory, which played a noteworthy part in the Sanskrit literary criticism and contains considerable information upon many topics pertaining to Alamkāraśāstra. In the 16th chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra we get for the first time an outline of the science of poetics. It enumerates four poetic figures (Alamkāras), ten excellences (Guṇas), ten defects (Doṣas) and thirty-six characteristics (Lakṣaṇas) of poetic compositions. But the earliest authorities on poetics proper are Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha (circa 600 A. D.), the question of whose relative priority of age has not been finally settled as yet. "This is followed by a fruitful and creative stage, ending with Abhinavagupta, in which the theories of different schools or systems were settled in their general outlines, giving rise to four distinct schools of opinion respectively represented by the Rasa, Alamkāra, Rīti and Dhvani-systems. It covers more than three centuries, and includes some of the great names in the history of the discipline, like those of Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa; of Lollāṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka; of Daṇḍin and Vāmana; of the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana and Abhina-

1 De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 3-4.

2 Ibid, pp. 4-6.

3 Ibid, pp. 6-8.

vagupta; of Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa and Bhoja—all of whom helped in a constructive or destructive way to shape the different currents of thought which ultimately ran into one stream in the text-book of Mammaṭa.”¹

249. Mammaṭa (circa 1100 A. D.) is the most noteworthy figure among the writers on poetics who came after the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana (circa 850 A. D.) and Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.). His Kāvya-prakāśa enjoyed a great popularity and exerted a remarkable influence in the field of Sanskrit literature, and helped in finally establishing the authority of the Rasa-dhvani school which was most ably expounded by the Dhvanyāloka. The Kāvya-prakāśa tries to synthesize in a succinct and scholarly form the tenets of different schools of Sanskrit poetics in the light of the new doctrine put forward in the Dhvanyāloka. Thus having the merit of an excellent text-book for the students, combining fulness and conciseness in its treatment, the Kāvya-prakāśa, though composed in far off Kāśmīr, began to be studied throughout the length and breadth of India within a few decades from the time of its composition, and a large number of commentaries were written on that scholarly work, so much so that a proverbial saying came into vogue in Sanskrit that the Kāvya-prakāśa has been commented upon in every house and yet it has remained a hard nut to crack.² Without giving up the accepted superiority of the Dhvani theory of poetry, Mammaṭa attempted to effect a compromise among the divergent schools of thought, and his views have been generally considered the most balanced theory of poetry in Sanskrit. In the mode of exposition and in the classification of the subject, the Kāvya-prakāśa has come to be regarded as a standard work, and many rhetoricians of repute thought it a matter of credit to compose commentaries on it, though they also expressed their views in independent treatises on poetics. Except in the way of further illustrations, newer definitions and keener classifications the science of poetry as described by Mammaṭa has remained almost the same since his days.³

250. The Kāvya-prakāśa began to be zealously studied in Gujarāt within a few years of its composition, as is shown by the fact that the great savant Hemacandra, who has written his Kāvya-anuśāsana during the first half of the 12th century A. D., has based his Sūtras upon, and has quoted profusely from the Kāvya-prakāśa—at several places verbatim—and has also mentioned Mammaṭa by name.⁴ It is clear that Mammaṭa's work was used as a text-book in Gujarāt even before the times of Hemacandra. When we bear in mind the possible date of the composition of the Kāvya-prakāśa (circa 1100 A. D.) and that of the Kāvya-anuśāsana (about 1143 A. D.), the fact seems to be more remarkable and characteristically indicative of the cultural contact in ancient and media-

1 Ibid, Vol. II, p. 268.

2 काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे दीक्षा तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ।

This saying originally belongs to Maheśvara, a commentator of the Kāvya-prakāśa (Krishnamachariar, Classical Skt. Lit., p. 756), who probably flourished in the 17th century A. D. (De, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 179).

3 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 719.

4 R. C. Parikh, intro. to the Kāvya-anuśāsana, pp. 318 and 273.

eval India, when there were no speedy means of communication. It would be interesting here to note that there was considerable contact in matters of learning between Gujarāt and Kāshmir. According to the *Prabhāvakacarita*, Somacandra (Hemacandra's name before he was installed as an Ācārya) is described as taking the permission of his Guru to propitiate the goddess living in Kāshmir (काश्मीरवासिनीं देवीम्).¹ We know from the autobiographical account given in the last canto of the *Vikramāṃkadevacarita* of Bihlāṇa that scholars from that land of Śārada—as Kāshmir was called—used to come to Gujarāt. In the court of Sidharāja Jayasimha there was a scholar named Utsāha who was a great grammarian and whose learning was famous in Śāradaśeṣa.² It was this Utsāha who was sent by the Kāshmir Paṇḍitas with eight grammars from Kāshmir, from which Hemacandra compiled his work.³ One of the oldest commentaries on Maṃmaṭa's work is by the Jaina monk Maṇikyacandra who was a friend of Vastupāla, as we have already seen (para 130), the first commentary being by Kāshmirian Rūcaka or Ruyyaka, the famous author of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (second and third quarters of the 12th century). Another very old commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* written in Gujarāt is by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (1294 A. D.), a contemporary of king Śāraṅga-deva Vāghelā of Gujarāt (vide para 128), on whose work the commentator Ratnakaraṇṭha (between 1648-1681) had based his commentary.⁴ There are

- 1 Ibid, p. 271. In old Gujarāṭi literature also we find a number of references to 'goddess (Sarasvatī) who is ornament of Kāshmir.' e. g.—

(i) उरि कमलां भमराँ भमई कासमीरां मुहमंडण माइ ।

—Vīśaladeva Rāso of Nālha (1216 A. D.), v. 7

(ii) सारद तूठि ब्रह्मकुमारी, कासमीरां मुखमंडणी ।

—Ibid, v. 9

(iii) कासमीर मुखमंडण माडी, तू समी न जगि कोई मिराडी ।

—Virāṭaparvā of Śālisūri (circa 15th cent. A. D.), v. 1

(iv) देव सरसति देव सरसति सुमति दातार,

कासमीर मुखमंडणी ब्रह्मपुत्रि करि वीण सोहइ ।

—Mādhavānala Chopāi of Kuśalalābha (1560 A. D.), v. 1

(v) कासमीर मुखमंडणी (हंसगमणी) सरसति सामिणि, तास प्रसादि

वेदव्यास वाल्मीकि रषि इम एहनु उपदेस.

तास प्रसादि असाईत भणि: वीरकथा वरणव्योस.

—Hamsāuli of Asāita (1361 A. D.), v. 1

(vi) कासमीरपोरवासनी, विद्या तणी निधान ।

सेवक कर जोडी कहइ, आपउ विद्यादान.

—Pañcadand-nā Vārtā of Narapati (1504 A. D.), v. 8

(vii) सरसती सामिण पय नमी, मायु उचित पसाय;

कासमीर मुखमंडणी, वाणी दिउ मझ माय.

—Vetālapācisi of Devaśīla (1563 A. D.), v. 1

(viii) कासमीरनिवासिनी सरसती समरं मान.

—Karpūramāñjari of Matisāra (1548 A. D.), line 6

These are a few specimens; many more quotations can be cited.

2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 253.

3 Ibid, p. 273. Also see my paper on *Gujarāt and Kāshmir in Sanskr̥ti* (Guj.), February 1951.

4 De, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 171.

two other commentaries on the Kāvya prakāśa written by scholars from Gujarāt, which are not hitherto well-known. One is by Jayānandasūri,¹ whose date is not known, and the other is by the great Jaina savant Yaśovijaya (17th century A. D.)²

The Kāvya prakāśa-saṁketa of Māṇikyacandra

251. The brief review of the history of the Alankāra-literature given above would show that the Alankāraśāstra was a branch of learning zealously cultivated in Gujarāt. After Hemacandra and his pupils, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (para 26), we can mention the names of three scholars of Vastupāla's literary circle as important writers on Sanskrit poetics. Out of the works of these three scholars, the Saṁketa of Māṇikyacandra on the Kāvya prakāśa is the oldest, the other two, viz. the Alankāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri and the Kāvya kalpalatā of Amaraśāstri, being later than the Saṁketa.

252. Māṇikyacandra's Saṁketa is not only one of the oldest, but also one of the most authoritative commentaries on the Kāvya prakāśa. Its Granthāgāra is 3244 ślokaś, as mentioned at the end of an old palm-leaf manuscript preserved at the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭan.³ This work is also important on account of its merit as an expository work. It is entirely free from the failings so often found in commentaries, viz. absence of explanatory comments on difficult topics and prolixity where it is not wanted. Though Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina Sādhu, his erudition in the Brāhmaṇical literature and philosophy is evident from his exposition and criticism of the text as well as from the references and quotations given by him. Not only the author is a scholar and a master of poetics, but he is a keen appreciator and critic of poetry, and himself a poet of some merit. His original faculty of poetic appreciation can be seen, as for example, in his commentary on two verses, viz. मुञ्चं विकसितसितं (II. 9) and प्रसन्नं बल्यैः कृतं (IV. 46), and also on the Kārikās 29 (शृङ्गारस्य द्वौ भेदौ) and 30 (रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च). He has given a number of quotations from his own poems to make his statements clear.⁴ Thus three great

1 JRK, p. 90.

2 Looking to the great reputation of Yaśovijaya as a versatile scholar his commentary on the Kāvya prakāśa should be considered a remarkable work. Recently Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji has found out an incomplete manuscript of this commentary from Cambay. The work deserves to be critically edited and printed even in the incomplete form.

3 PBC, p. 54.

4 Māṇikyacandra has cited 17 verses in all, which are his own compositions; vide pp. 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 203, 204, 205, 216, 230, 237, 252, 270. Several of these verses (pp. 203, 204, 205, 216) appear to have been taken from the hymns in praise of Jina, which shows that Māṇikyacandra had composed several devotional lyrics in addition to his Saṁketa and the two Mahākāvyaś (vide para 182).

literary merits—scholarship, critical faculty and keen poetic appreciation—are to be found together in this commentary.

253. The remarkable scholarship and wide reading of Māṇikya-candra have been attested by the large number of quotations and references given by him. It also shows the author to be quite at home with the bulk of Alaṃkāra literature written before his time and also with Sanskrit literature in general. He has quoted from or referred to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and his *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* (pp. 4, 8), the *Kāvya-kautuka* (p. 5),¹ Pāṇini (pp. 14, 29), Bhaṭṭa Kumārila (p. 16) and Jaimini (p. 111). Bhartṛmītra (p. 17), the *Vakroktikāra* (p. 25), the logician Dharmakīrti (p. 43), Māgha (p. 52), the *Udbhaṭakumārasambhava* (p. 252),² the *Kādambarī* (p. 177), the *Kumārasambhava* (p. 178) and the *Śakuntalā* (p. 195), the *Dhvanikāra* (p. 200), the *Kaṇṭhābharapa* (p. 216)³ and the *Vidhhaśālabhaṅgikā* (p. 303). Māṇikya-candra has also traced some verses quoted by Maṃmāṭa to their originals. Thus he has traced a Prākṛit gāthā to the *Pañcabāpalilākathā* of Ānandavardhana (p. 144), and another gāthā to the *Viśambāpalilākathā* (p. 173). Some other illustrations are traced to the *Pratimānirudha Nāṭaka*,⁴ the *Veṇiśambhāra* and the *Mālatimādhava* (p. 264), the *Rāghavānanda* (p. 91) and the *Mahābhārata* (p. 86). A verse (IV. 39) has been elaborately traced in the following manner—कश्मीरराजमातुर्मरणे भट्टनारायणकविकाव्यमिदम् (p. 57), though nothing is definitely known about this Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and the occasion on which this verse was composed. Māṇikya-candra has quoted one verse with the remarks—पूज्यानामिदम् (p. 203), and it is quite probable that it may be from the pen of the author's Guru.

254. Moreover, Māṇikya-candra has cited following authors or authorities, and supported or criticized their views—Kaṇāda (p. 14), the *Nyāya-kumudacandra* of Prabhācandra (p. 14), Mukula (pp. 18, 22, 24), Abhinavagupta (pp. 25, 48), Vāmana (pp. 25, 53, 152, 186, 188, 190), Bharata (pp. 189, 191, 192), Daṇḍin (pp. 189, 191, 192, 245), Bhoja (pp. 192, 195, 219, 304), Śaṃkuka (pp. 45, 50), Bhaṭṭa Tota (p. 43), Lollaṭa (p. 52), Bhāmaha (pp. 120, 189, 213, 287), Udbhaṭa (pp. 121, 174, 187, 212, 259, 272, 294), Rudraṭa (pp. 245, 249, 257, 266, 211, 274), Maṃgala (p. 190),⁵ Alaṃkāra-

1 The author of this lost work was Bhaṭṭa Tauta. It has been mentioned in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata (ch. I).

2 This is a lost poem. It has been also quoted by Pratihārendurāja in his commentary on Udbhaṭa (PT, Vol. I, p. 187).

3 The author has not quoted from this book, but has only mentioned it by name. Possibly it may be the *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharapa* of Bhoja.

4 This lost work is also mentioned in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata (ch. XIX). There it is ascribed to Bhīma.

5 Vāmana and Maṃgala are cited simultaneously ('गौडीयानां निर्देशो न दुस्मिन् इति वामनमंगलौ' p. 190). Hence Maṃgala was definitely a rhetorician. Opinions of Maṃgala have been also cited in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (3rd edition, pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) by Rājasekhara and in the *Viveka* on the *Kāvya-anuśāsana* (IV. 1) by Hemacandra.

sarvasva (pp. 209, 249),¹ Kohala² and the Locana (p. 65). It is evident from the above list that some of the authors and works cited in the commentary are lost centuries ago, and hence references to them are very important from historical and literary point of view.

255. Moreover, Māṇikyaçandra has discussed at several places the variant readings of Mammaṭa and has spoken about their relative merits (pp. 37, 250), which shows that within about a century after the composition of the Kāvyaṇṇaparakāṣa there had arisen some important variants in the readings of the text. While commenting upon a Prākṛit gāthā (छणपाहुडिअ देअर०, IV. 112), Māṇikyaçandra has given a short but interesting discussion regarding the interpretation of the Prākṛit word पडोहर or पुडोहर, and has cited several opinions about its meaning, including that of Sātavāhana. Scholarship of Māṇikyaçandra is also to be seen in his explanation of the following words of the text—अत्र शोणितशब्दस्य स्वरिलक्षणेनार्थतोऽज्जलीकृतस्वरूपार्थः व्यवधीयते (IV. 146); he has said—यद्वा काश्मीरभाषया उज्ज्वलशब्दोऽरुणार्थः (p. 124). This is a further proof to show that Mammaṭa was an inhabitant of Kāshmir. The tradition that Mammaṭa had written the Kāvyaṇṇaparakāṣa upto the Parikāra Alamkāra and the rest of the work was completed by one Alaka or Alaṭa also finds support from Māṇikyaçandra. Commenting upon the last verse of the Kāvyaṇṇaparakāṣa (इत्येव मार्गे विद्युयं विमित्रो०), Māṇikyaçandra has said—अथ चायं ग्रन्थोऽन्येनाऽऽरब्धोऽपरेण समाप्त इति द्विखण्डोऽपि संवदनावशादखण्डायते । (p. 304). This shows that the tradition about the double authorship of the Kāvyaṇṇaparakāṣa is very old-known to one of the earliest commentators and therefore deserves serious consideration. Māṇikyaçandra has, at some places, given old Gujarāṭi equivalents of Sanskrit words; e. g.—commenting upon a verse in the Kāvyaṇṇaparakāṣa (एतन्मन्दविरक्ततिन्दुकफलं, VII, 143), he says—तिन्दुकफलं तद्यस्य टिम्बरुकमिति. ख्यातिः, p. 123). The word in question is still used in Gujarāṭi as टिम्बरु.

The Alamkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri

256. Now, we come to the Alamkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri. The Granthāgra of the work is 4500 ślokas. Following the masterpiece of Mammaṭa, the work has been written in the Kārikās and Vṛtti. But while the Kāvyaṇṇaparakāṣa has been divided into ten chapters, the Alamkāramahodadhi comprises eight chapters, like the Kāvyaṇṇaśāsana of Hemacandra who was the author's great predecessor in Gujarāt. The Kārikās are in the Anuṣṭup metre, but the concluding stanza of every chapter is generally in a different metre. The number of the Kārikās is 296 in all. The work being styled as the Alamkāramahodadhi ('great ocean of the Alamkāras'), its chapters are called the Taramgas ('waves'). Presumably, the author was tempted to

¹ Reference to the Alamkārasarvasva shows definitely that Ruyyaka was chronologically older than Māṇikyaçandra.

² Kohala is cited along with the Locana (विस्तरविचारस्तु कोहललोचनग्रन्थादिषु हेयः, p. 65). He was a follower of Bharata, and has been cited by Abhinavagupta. A study of citations indicates that though Kohala followed Bharata in the main, he improved upon the Nāṭyaśāstra in details of classification (Krishnamachariar, op. cit., p. 822).

employ this terminology by the example of his Guru Naracandraśūri, who had styled the chapters of his Kathāratnākara as the Taraṅgas (vide para 240).

257. The author lays no claim to originality. He says that there is nothing which has not been expounded by the ancient rhetoricians, and hence this work is merely the selection from their sayings (p. 3). In the Praśasti (v. 10) he says that he wrote the work after hearing the lectures of his Guru seeking to entertain the learned and also for the benefit of his own scholarship. But putting the things plainly, the Alaṃkāramahodadhī has simplified and extended the subject-matter of the Kāvya-prakāśa without interfering with its scientific arrangement, and that can be considered the chief merit of the work. The author has added some subsidiary matter which is not to be found in the Kāvya-prakāśa, and that has extended the bulk of his work. He has also taken a large number of new illustrations either from previous Alaṃkāra-works or from general Sanskrit literature, and has thus made his work more readable. The number of the illustrations cited by Mammaṭa is 602, while the number of those in the Alaṃkāramahodadhī is 982. Narendraprabha has done justice to the contents of the ten chapters of the Kāvya-prakāśa in the eight chapters of his work. The second and third chapters of the Kāvya-prakāśa have been represented by the second chapter of the Alaṃkāramahodadhī, while the subject-matter of the sixth chapter has been almost omitted in the latter work; and thus an economy of two chapters has been achieved. The author of the Alaṃkāramahodadhī has been influenced by Mammaṭa to such a great extent that at a number of places his Kārikās as well as Vṛtti are full of verbal borrowings from the Kāśhmīrian master (e. g.-pp. 6, 7, 14-15, 43, 48, 55-56, 57, 58, 123, 180-82, 183, 184-86, 197, 199, etc. of the Alaṃkāramahodadhī), but at the same time the Alaṃkāramahodadhī betrays some influence of Hemacandra's Kāvyaṇuśāsana. In I. 10, while explaining the word Śikṣā with reference to a poet, the author has quoted almost verbatim the whole portion dealing with Śikṣā, that is Kāvīśikṣā, from the Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi on the Kāvyaṇuśāsana. Moreover, his definition of poetry is more akin to one in the Kāvyaṇuśāsana than to that in the Kāvya-prakāśa, and he appears to have taken several illustrations from the two commentaries on the Kāvyaṇuśāsana, viz. the Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi and the Viveka (e. g.-no. 5 from the AC II. 170; no. 256 from the AC I. 71 and VK no. 425-281). Narendraprabha must have also seen Māṇikyacandra's Saṃketa on the Kāvya-prakāśa with which we have just dealt, because while commenting upon the Kārikā giving the purpose of poetry (p. 6) he has quoted from the Hṛdayadarpaṇa of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, just like Māṇikyacandra (I. 2). Māṇikyacandra in I. 3 has quoted from the Kāvya-kautuka (पञ्च नवतन्त्रोन्मेषः); the same quotation has been given by Narendraprabha in the Vṛtti on I. 7 while dealing with the subject of Pratibhā. But inspite of all these influences the fact remains that the Alaṃkāramahodadhī follows the Kāvya-prakāśa with meticulous care, though generally supplanting, extending and simplifying its subject-matter.

258. In the beginning of the Vṛtti, after praising the highest light, the author gives a genealogy of his teachers and also a genealogy of Vastupāla, his patron (vv. 1-11), and he describes how the work was composed at the request made by Vastupāla to Naracandra, author's Guru (vv. 15-21). The first chapter is styled प्रयोजन-कारण-स्वरूपभेदनिर्णय.¹ Here the author has given the purpose and definition of poetry in general, and has also defined its three varieties, viz. Dhvani, Guṇibhūtavyamgya and Avara. शब्दवैचित्र्यवर्णन² is the title of the second chapter, and it is devoted to different powers of words—viz. Abhidhā or primary sense, Lakṣaṇā or secondary sense and Vyañjanā or suggested sense. In II. 16-20 the author has defined Bandha or compactness of compositions as अद्वेनारीश्वरस्पर्द्धि यत्र संवद्वनक्रमः, and has considered the charm arising out of Bandha a very important thing in poetry. The third chapter is ध्वनिनिर्णय.³ After discussing Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇā, the author now turns to Vyañjanā or Dhvani. He follows the Kāvyaaprakāśa in his treatment of the production of Dhvani, but has given a number of new illustrations to show how different circumstances contribute to the process. (pp. 49-53). The portion about the theory of Rasa has been taken down faithfully from the fourth Ullāsa of the Kāvyaaprakāśa, though coming to the nine sentiments (III. 13-25), our author's treatment becomes comparatively fuller in the matter of illustrations and other secondary details. The author has given 39 varieties of the suggested sense (III. 63), and then he has multiplied the number to 6123 by Saṁkara and saṁsṛṣṭi or permutations and combinations of those varieties (III. 64), while the Kāvyaaprakāśa (IV. 44) has given the number as 10455. In the end (III. 64-65), the author says that the Dhvani is the soul of poetry, and it being अलंकार does not deserve to become an अलंकार, and hence the Rasavat cannot be a figure of speech—as mentioned by some rhetoricians. The whole of the third chapter of the Alamkāramahodadhi is, so to say, a longer and simplified version of the fourth Ullāsa of the Kāvyaaprakāśa.

259. The fourth chapter called गुणीभूतव्यंग्यप्रदर्शन⁴ deals with this secondary variety of Dhvani, while the fifth called दोषव्यावर्णन⁵ deals with the faults of poetry at considerable length. In this chapter the phrasing of a number of Kārikas and the Vṛtti thereon can be seen to be greatly influenced by Mammaṭa, sometimes to the extent of being almost verbatim extracts from him. The sixth chapter is styled as गुणनिर्णय⁶ and is devoted to the treatment of three poetic merits, viz. Mādhurya or sweetness, Ojas or strength and Prasāda or perspicuity. The author generally follows Mammaṭa, but his treatment is more detailed and lucid. The seventh chapter, शब्दालंकारवर्णन,⁷ deals with the figures of word. While following Mammaṭa in general treatment, our author has given more subdivisions, and a number of new illustrations.

1 cf. KP, ch. I. प्रयोजन-कारण-स्वरूपविशेषनिर्णय.

2 cf. Ibid, ch. II. शब्दनिर्णय.

3 cf. Ibid, ch. III-IV. अर्थव्यञ्जकतानिर्णय and ध्वनिनिर्णय.

4 cf. Ibid, ch. V. ध्वनि-गुणीभूतव्यंग्य-संकीर्ण-भेदनिर्णय.

5 cf. Ibid, ch. VII. दोषदर्शन.

6 cf. Ibid, ch. VIII. गुणालंकारभेदनिर्णयगुणनिर्णय.

7 cf. Ibid, ch. IX. शब्दालंकारनिर्णय.

The eighth chapter is अर्थालंकारवर्णन,¹ and is devoted to the figures of sense. The author has discussed here 70 Alamkāras in all, while the Kāvya-prakāśa, his model, has given 61, and Hemacandra discusses in 31 Sūtras 29 figures of sense. Our author, though generally following Mammāṭa, has arranged his figures in a different manner, beginning with Atīśayokti rather than Upamā. He has discussed and illustrated the following nine Arthālamkāras which are not to be found in Mammāṭa—Ullekha, Pariṇāma, Vikalpa, Arthāpatti, Vicitra, Rasavat, Preyaḥ, Urjaśvi and Samāhita (different from Samādhi). Though the figures Rasavat etc. are not theoretically acceptable to the author, he has included them in his comprehensive treatment, because some other rhetoricians have accepted them.² By defining and subdividing the figures in a simple and methodical manner and by profusely illustrating them the author has made his work scientific as well as interesting, and it can be said without exaggeration that the Alamkāramahodadhī is one of the most notable Alamkāra-works written by the Jaina authors after Hemacandra and the two Vagbhāṭas.

260. Narendraprabhāsūri appears to be a man of wide reading and notable scholarship, from the treatment he has given to his subject, from the accessory matter that he has added to the theoretical nucleus found in Mammāṭa, and also from the authorities and illustrations that he has cited. As authorities he has cited the following—the Hṛdayadarpaṇa (p. 6) and its author Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (p. 57), the Vākyapadiya (p. 15) and the Mahābhāṣya (pp. 15-16), Mukula (p. 36), Kayyāṭa (p. 44), Bharata and his commentator (p. 55), Lollaṭa (p. 56), Śaṅkuka (p. 56), Abhinavagupta (p. 58), the grammar of Hemacandra, though it has not been expressly mentioned by name (pp. 166, 238, 315, 332), the Dhvanikāra (pp. 182, 183), Vāmana (p. 190), and Kuntaka (p. 201) whose name is printed in the text as Kuttu(tta)ka. References to the following authors and works have been given—Kālidāsa (p. 6), Bharata, Cāṇakya, Vātsyāyana, the Śakuntalā and Kādambarī (p. 8), Ānandavardhana (p. 11), Kaṇāda (p. 15), the Kumārasambhava (p. 180), the Venīśambhāra (p. 180), the Viracarita (p. 181), the Hayagrivavadha (p. 181), the Śīsupālavadha (p. 181), the Ratnāvalī (p. 181), the Arjunacarita (p. 183), the Nāgānanda (p. 183) and the Harṣacarita (pp. 250, 304).

Development of Kaviśikṣā-literature

261. The Kāvyaikalpalatā of Amaracandrasūri and two Svopajñā ('composed by the author himself') commentaries on it—viz. the Kaviśikṣā and the Parimala—form a notable work on Kaviśikṣā or discipline of the poets, and were intended to supply a text-book for aspiring poets. As the commentary Kaviśikṣā comments upon the text in a

1 cf. Ibid, ch. X. अर्थालंकारनिर्णय.

2 रसादयः पूर्वप्रतिपादितरूपाः सर्वेऽप्येते यत्र कचिदात्मानं गुणीकृत्यपरस्य रसादेरेवाङ्गतामवयवतां धारयन्ति तस्मिन् विषये इमे रसवत्-प्रेय-ऊर्जस्वि-समाहितादिनामानोऽलङ्काराः कैश्चिदलङ्कारकारैः रीकृता अङ्गीकृताः । p. 328.

It may be mentioned here that Mammāṭa has referred to figures Rasavat etc. while discussing the Guṇībhūta Vyāṅgya (cf. Vṛtti on KP, V. 2).

more systematic consistent and faithful manner, is more well-known and has been published with the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* more than once, we shall take it first and shall treat of the *Parimala* later on. But before that we should take a bird's eye view of the historical development of the literature on *Kaviśikṣā*. "These treatises do not deal with the conventional topics of poetics with its theories, dogmas and definitions, but they are meant chiefly as manuals to guide the poet in his profession, their primary object being *Kaviśikṣā* or instruction of the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft..... The ancient as well as modern writers on general poetics, no doubt, touch occasionally upon the question of the practical training of the poet; and it is not improbable that this, in course of time, formed the object of a separate study and multiplied these convenient hand-books, of which necessarily we possess comparatively late specimens."¹ According to Dr. Jacobi, originally *ars poetica* in India did not go further than offering suggestions and advice on matters of poetic craftsmanship and formulating prescriptions for the practical guidance of the poet. This theme in later literature became a separate study when the theoretical aspects of the problems involved began to occupy an important place in the discipline.² The cultural equipment of the poet and his practical training were considered very important in ancient India, and the poet had to labour long in various fields of learning before he could please the *Sahṛdaya* or the man of taste. *Bhāmaha* appears to be cognisant of the importance of the poet's training, but his remarks on these points are brief in comparison to *Vāmana*'s, who deals with the subject elaborately for the first time. While not denying the supreme necessity of genius or poetic gift (*Satkavitva*, *Bhāmaha* I. 4) which consists in *Pratibhā* (poetic genius), all writers, early or late, agree in emphasising the necessity of study and experience. The poet is thus required to be an expert in a long list of sciences or arts. The earliest is given by *Bhāmaha* (I. 9), where grammar, prosody, lexicography, stories based on *Itihāsa*, ways of the world, logic and the fine arts are mentioned as sources of poetic material. This agrees substantially with the list given by *Rudraṭa* (I. 18). *Vāmana* (I. iii. 1-20) deals with the topic in greater detail, and requires the poet to be conversant with grammar, lexicon, metrics, arts, morals, erotics, politics and, above all, the ways and means of the world.³ The *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of *Rajaśekhara* (circa 900 A. D.), a work of comparatively early date, mixes up the topics of *Kaviśikṣā* with those of poetics proper, at the same time giving us a somewhat rambling treatment of various extraneous matters, and includes the subjects like general geography, conventions observed by the poets, a disquisition on the seasons and an account of *Kavi-goṣṭhi* etc., as of importance for the aspiring poet.

262. From this standpoint the two works of the Kāśmīrian polymath

1 De, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 356-57.

2 Ibid, p. 43.

3 Ibid, p. 54.

Kṣemendra (11th century A. D.)—viz. his *Aucityavicāracarcā* and *Kavikanṭhābharana*—are notable, as they appear to have been written for the guidance of the budding poets. But at the same time they are not full-fledged text-books on *Kaviśikṣā*, but are important in as much as they treat of some practical issues. Three notable Jaina rhetoricians, viz. Hemacandra and two Vāgbhaṭas wrote their works with a view to supplying suitable text-books, and consequently while discussing general principles, they incorporated hints on matters helpful in the practical task of poetic composition. It would be interesting to note that both Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhaṭa have borrowed considerably from Kṣemendra and Rājaśekhara.¹ The oldest extant full-fledged *Kaviśikṣā*-work we get also from a Jaina writer from Gujaraṭ. It is styled as *Kaviśikṣā* and its author is one Jayamaṅgala Ācārya. A very old palm-leaf manuscript of the work has been preserved at the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Cambay.² As the work includes a stanza in praise of king Siddharāja Jayasīṃha of Aṇahilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ, the author appears to have been a contemporary of that king and must have flourished about the first half of the twelfth century A. D. The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* of Amaracandra comes about a century after that. The *Kaviśikṣā* of Vinayacandra is a voluminous work on the same subject, especially interesting because it gives much important information about history, geography and about literary conditions in mediaeval India. A palm-leaf manuscript of Vinayacandra's work is available in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ.³ The author has been conjecturably put in the first half of the 13th century A. D.,⁴ but anyhow he is not earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A. D., because he refers to the poet Bihlaṇa.⁵

The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* and its commentary *Kaviśikṣā* by Amaracandra

263. Thus the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* of Amaracandra is one of the oldest extant works on the subject of *Kaviśikṣā*, and looking to its fame and popularity, it can be easily considered the most authoritative and instructive book on the practical aspect of the poet's work. The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* is in the form of *Kārikās*, the number of *Kārikās* as printed in the edition of the Kāshī Sanskrit Series being 798. The *Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti* is a running commentary on these *Kārikās*, strictly following the text, unlike the *Parimala* which is rather a free, rambling exposition of the *Kārikās*. The *Granthāgra* of the *Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti* is 3357 śloka.⁶ A brief summary of the main topics dealt with in the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* and this *Vṛtti* will give an idea of the general scope and nature of *Kaviśikṣā* works.

264. The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* has been divided into four *Pratānas* or chapters—viz. (I) *Chandaśsidhhi*, (II) *Śabdāsīdhhi*, (III) *Śleṣāsīdhhi*, and (IV)

1 Ibid, p. 366.

2 Peterson, Report I, pp. 78-80.

3 PBC, pp. 46-50.

4 AM, intro., p. 18.

5 PBC, p. 49.

6 JRK, p. 89.

Arthasiddhi.¹ The chapters are further subdivided into Stabakas or sections. (i) The first section of the Chandaḥsiddhi is Anuṣṭup-śasana. Anuṣṭup being the most popular metre in Sanskrit poetry, the author has first given practical suggestions for composition in that metre. He has suggested suitable words which would fit in the Anuṣṭup, and has also given the method of scanning the syllables and the mātrās. (ii) The second section is called Chandobhyāsa. It enumerates the principal metres having 9 to 21 syllables in a foot, and also the characteristics of the Āryā. For practical proficiency in metrical compositions the author has advised the practice in narrating stories and describing cities, daily works and worldly behaviour etc., which would give depth and range to the studies of the poet. He has also advised the rendering of one's own or another poet's ideas into the same or different metres, and conversion of one metre into another. The author has given illustrations of all these, and thus has helped the student with practical suggestions. After the student has learnt to compose in a number of metres, he is advised to know the Marma or secrets of the metres (Kārikā 31), and by comparison and contrast to make himself proficient in other metres also. Thus, for example, by adding a long and a short syllable at the end of Bhadrīkā metre we get Rathodhātā, and by adding a long syllable we get Lalitā, by adding a short syllable after the seventh syllable of the Varṇasāstha we get Mañjubhāsinī, and so on (p. 11). Thus after learning a few metres the budding poet can be at home with all the principal ones. At the end of the section the author has given a dissertation on the place of caesura (Yati) in the metre. (iii) The third section is devoted to words (Sāmānya-śabdāḥ) for filling up the verse (Chandaḥ-pūraṇa), which would be especially useful for the purposes of extempore poetry. The author has given a list of words containing one to four syllables which can be put in the beginning and the end of Anuṣṭup and other metres. He has illustrated both the feet of the Anuṣṭup in this way, and then has given similar treatment to other principal metres. (iv) The fourth section is entitled Vādasikṣā.² The author defines Vāda as

1 Titles of the chapters ending in the word Siddhi denoting accomplishment deserves notice, because all the chapters of the Sidhdiviniścaya by the great scholar Akalanika (circa 643 A. D.) have the word Siddhi at the end of their titles, and there are some works of the Vedānta philosophy like Brahmasiddhi, Iṣṭasiddhi, Advaitasiddhi, etc. A work on Jyotiṣ by Udayaprabhasūri is called the Ārambhasiddhi (vide para 116 and 301). Thus the nomenclature of the chapters of the Kāvyaśālā is significant, as it is the result of a scholarly and philosophic tradition which put emphasis on high accomplishment in learning as well as in spiritual attainment.

2 In ancient India Vāda or learned dispute was a subject of common importance to all the Śāstras and hence there are independent treatises on Vāda. The Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu has written a work called Vādaśāstra which is extant only in its Tibetan translation (Winternitz, vol. II, p. 632; Sanmatitarka, intro., p. 79), and Sidhasena Divākara has composed a Vādopaniṣaddvātrīṃśikā which is seventh in his extant Ekavīṃśati Dvātrīṃśikāḥ.

follows—

वादोऽनुपास्युक्तोक्तिः स्वोत्कर्षः परगर्हणा । कुलयास्त्रादिप्रसङ्गः स्वशास्त्राध्यवन्तया ॥

(K. 44)

That is, by Vāda is meant pointed sayings full of Anuprāsa, praise of oneself and vituperation of opponents, and interrogation (of the opponent) with regard to his family and learning, and declaring one's own learning. All these points are duly illustrated in the commentary (p. 21-24), and a list of words which can be useful in forming Anuprāsa is given (p. 20-21). From the illustrations we get an idea as to how the learned men and the poets rivalled with one another in the assembly of the kings and the ministers in ancient and mediaeval India. The title of this section, Vādaśikṣā, suggests that it essentially deals with Vāda or learned disputes of which we get numerous accounts in old literature. (v) The fifth section is styled Varṇya-sthiti, and enumerates subjects fit for description by the poets—like king, minister, priests, queens, prince, commander, country, village, city, lake, ocean, rivers, gardens, forest, hermitage, political counsels, messenger, battle, march, hunting, horses, elephants, rising of sun and moon, marriage, separation, collection of flowers, water-sports, love-sport, etc. (Kārikā 45). Not satisfied by mere enumeration the author has given hints as to how to describe these topics, because his book is much more concerned with practice than with theory. Regarding the minister the author has said—

आन्वीक्षिकीव्रथीवार्तादण्डनीतिकृतश्रमः । क्रमागतो वणिक्पुत्रो भवेद्राज्यविद्वद्वये ॥

(K. 55)

It is interesting that the minister has been described as coming from the merchant-class, because in mediaeval Gujarāt the business community used to work in political service and the author's patron, Vastupāla, was himself a member of that community.

Then the author has given a list of poetic conventions (Kavisamayās) as observed in Sanskrit literature for the guidance of his students.

265. The second chapter, Śabdāsiddhi, is divided into four sections. (i) The first chapter explains Rūḍha, Yaugika and Mīśra words, and cites copious illustrations to show that only those words which are well-known in literature can be used in poetry. (ii) The second section gives a list of Yaugika synonyms of things and personalities, real or fictitious, generally occurring in poetry, and advises the reader to choose from these words according as he desires to achieve verbal conciseness or elaboration (K. 70). (iii) The third chapter gives a long list of words which would be useful in achieving Anuprāsa. Then the author has given a second list of words having the syllables 'Ka to Ma' at the end, for help in writing poetry full of Anuprāsa and Yamaka. (iv) The fourth chapter explains Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā at length. Then the author has given a list of Lakṣaṇika words useful in poetry (K. 183-206), suggesting how those words can be employed as Upamāna and Upameya. This section shows clear influence of the

Dhvani-school which had established itself long before the times of Amaracandra.

266. The third chapter Śleṣasidhhi deals with employment of double-meaning, because it played an important part in Sanskrit poetry. It has been divided into four sections. (i) The first section deals with composing of words in such a way that they can be read differently according as they are divided and gives a list of words useful in achieving Śleṣa. (ii) The second section deals with a kind of Śleṣa occurring in the description of an object by analogies, in which the same quality or condition is to be traced in the same words or in synonyms. (iii) The third section is devoted to the cases of double meaning, produced by homonyms capable of widely different interpretations, and (iv) the fourth deals with the Citrakāvya. The author has given lists of words useful in composing the Citrakāvya—e. g., words having one and two syllables (pp. 86-87 and 94-96), and roots with one syllable (pp. 92-94), and also a list of words which can be read identically both ways (p. 100). Different varieties of the Citrakāvya have been illustrated in this section—viz. स्वरचित्र, व्यञ्जनचित्र, गतिचित्र, आकारच्युत, मात्राच्युत, वर्णच्युत, and different kinds of गूढ.

267. The fourth chapter Arthasidhhi has been divided into seven sections. (i) The first section is devoted to the study of Alamkāras. First the author treats of the Upamā. He gives a list of words expressive of Upamā and also a concordance of particular Upameyas befitting particular Upamānas (pp. 105-107), and has set forth a number of practical suggestions for achieving proficiency in verses with good Upamās (pp. 107-8), because according to him—उपमायां हि सिद्ध्यां बह्वलंकारसिद्धयः (K. 36); he has shown how by making slight changes in the Upamā, a number of other principal Alamkāras like Rūpaka, Ananvaya, Smaraṇa, Sandeha, Apahnuti, Vyatireka, Utprekṣā, etc. are produced (p. 109). The Rūpaka has been given a more detailed treatment. Hints as to how the Rūpaka should be composed and how one and the same idea can be expressed in different ways are given (pp. 111-116). (ii-iv) The second, third and fourth sections lay down how the objects with different colours, actions and forms should be described. (v) The fifth section explains at length how the poet should invent poetic conceits regarding support, surroundings and attributes of different objects, and thus describe them in a charming manner. Analogy is the principal method of good expression in poetry (K. 163) and hence the author gives a long list of analogous things—e. g. sharp, great, auspicious, inauspicious, pure, impure, rapid, slow, strong, weak, cruel, merciful, or things like great sounds, beautiful men, great archers, learned kings, and so on (K. 164-248). (vi) The sixth section is especially important to the student of Sanskrit poetry, because it gives a list of words expressive of numbers. We get here words expressive of the figures from one to twenty, and also of a hundred and a thousand (pp. 143-48). It is a well-known convention among mediaeval Sanskrit authors to mention the year of composition of their works in a roundabout way by the help of such Saṁkhyā-śabdās, without giving the figures directly (cf. para 129). (vii)

The seventh section offers suggestions as to how to fill up different kinds of Samasyās. The filling up of Samasyās was a very important thing for a Sanskrit poet, especially when in public assembly or in poetic disputes, and our author has not failed to incorporate in his text-book the practical suggestions on that point.

Parimala-another Svopajña commentary on the Kāvyaikalpalatā

268. Another Svopajña commentary on the Kāvyaikalpalatā, viz. the Parimala, cannot be described as a commentary in the technical sense; it is a free, rambling exposition of several points of the original text. The work is not printed. Unfortunately, both the manuscripts of the Parimala that I could procure from the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ end at the beginning of the second chapter (Śābdasidhhi) at almost identical places, and hence I have not been able to study the whole of this interesting work. A third manuscript of the Parimala has been noticed by Prof. H. R. Kapadia in his introduction (p. 42) to the Padmānanda Mahākāvya, but that also being incomplete is not useful for our purpose. The Granthāgra of the Parimala has been given by the Jaina Granthāvali as 1122 ślokaś,¹ but it seems to be wrong. The approximate Granthāgra of the Pāṭaṇ manuscripts, both of which are incomplete from the beginning of the second chapter, has been calculated by Mr. Murārīlāl Nāgar as 4500 ślokaś, and we may assume that the entire work being a commentary on four chapters would not be less than ten or eleven thousand ślokaś. While commenting upon the second section of the first chapter the author has dealt with prosody at considerable length, and has treated of the Apabhraṃśa metres, like Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana. Here the author has laid down the characteristics of six types of Prākṛits, generally following Hemacandra. In the fifth section, Amaracandra has enumerated different Vidyās, arts and different kinds of weapons, forms of gods and goddesses, tenets of different schools of philosophy, and subjects of general knowledge useful for the poet in his craft. The erotic sentiment is the favourite subject of Sanskrit poets, and hence the author has dwelt upon erotics, covering all its topics from the classification of different types of men and women as laid down in the Kāmasāstra, to love-sports. Then the characteristics of the Nāyaka or hero and Prātināyaka or hero's rival as well as those of the Nāyikās or heroines are given. Describing the nature of all creatures (Sarvajīva), the commentary dwells upon the characteristics of the creatures without feet (serpents etc.), bipeds (men, gods and birds), quadrupeds, and creatures with six feet (bees etc.) which might prove of use in composing poetry. Moreover, the author has given Purāṇic geography and something of the geography of India known in his times. While speaking of division of time, starting from the smallest division, he comes to the year, and then says—

दैवज्ञानं च त्रैलोक्येकानां श्रवणादिकः ।

(folio 69)²

1 JG, p. 216; following it JRK, p. 89.

2 The numbers of folios of the Parimala mentioned here are of ms. no. 9511 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna Mandira of Pāṭaṇ.

which shows that in the times of Amaraçandra in certain parts of Gujarāt at least, the beginning of the year was considered from the month of Śrāvaṇa. It is interesting to note here that two works of the Jaina canon, viz. the Bhagavati Sūtra (XVIII. 10) and the Jñātādharma Kathā (p. 107) refer to the श्रावणदि year, and the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya (Adhikaraṇa II, Adhyāya 7) also mentions it. After this, the author speaks about the glories of the seasons—especially the spring, of the trees blossoming in it, and of their Dohadas or longings. Thus after mentioning a great many of details useful to the poet, Amaraçandra completes his Parimala on the last section of the first chapter. Then begins the commentary on the second chapter, but both the manuscripts procured by me end even before the second section of the second chapter is completed. The Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti leaves the list of Yaugic words (second section of the second chapter) uncommented, which the Parimala expounds at length, while the Parimala leaves the first section uncommented which has been commented upon by the Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti.

269. The Kāvyaakalpalatā and both the commentaries on it consider the practical, rather mechanical, and not the scholarly or theoretical side of poetry, and hence do not contain many quotations or references to authorities. In the Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti, Amaraçandra mentions his own works—the Chandoratnāvali, the Mañjarī, the Parimala and Alaṃkāraprabodha,¹ and at one place he has cited the authority of the grammarian Śakātāyana (p. 28). In the Parimala, we find the authority of Bharata quoted (folio 64), and also of the Chandonusāsana (folios 2, 9) and the Grammar (folio 11) of Hemacaçandra. There is a reference to the Mālatīmādhava (folio 61), a quotation from the Raghuvamśa (folio 1), from the poet Dhanapāla (folio 9),² who was a contemporary of king Bhoja of Dhārā and lived in the 10th century A. D., and also from Mānikyasūri (folio 1)³, presumably the author of the Saṃketa on the Kāvyaaprakāśa.

270. The above analysis of the contents of the Kāvyaakalpalatā would show how it gives practical instructions for the craft of the poet. It seems from the manner in which Amaraçandra has handled his subject-matter, that he himself must have passed at some time through the discipline laid down in the book. The account given by the Prabandhakośa of the testing of the poetic faculties of Amaraçandra by the court-poets of king Viśaladeva (vide para 103) is very interesting when considered from this point of view. In ancient India, poetry was not merely a matter of subjective expression for the poet. The poet had to try to please a particular audience. When a new work was published, it was to be submitted to and approved by assemblies of experts, as we are told by Rājasekhara and others; and the poet was

1 of. Para 164 and 106.

2 यथा धनपालस्य—नतसुरकिरीटसंघट्टचरण, जय भगवति भीतजनैकशरण०

3 यदुक्तं श्रीमाणिक्यसूरिभिः—

स्तुल्यं तत्रास्ति नूनं न जगति जनता यत्र बाधा विदध्या-

दन्योन्यसर्धिनोऽपि त्वयि तु शुभविधौ वादिनो निर्विवादाः।

यत्तच्चिन्म न किञ्चित् स्फुरति मतिमतां मानसे विश्रमात-

ब्रौह्मि त्वं येन क्लृप्ते सकलनयमयं रूपमर्हत्सुखस्था ॥

expected to fulfil all the demands of the theory. Works like the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* of Amaraçandra teach the aspiring poet how to fulfil those demands. From such works we get a glimpse of the methods by which the students were taught to compose poetry, provided they had some natural talent. The work teaches the intricacies of metres, shows how to weave out poetic figures, shows the tricks of producing double meaning and manipulating complicated schemes of alliteration and rhyming, gives the secrets of quick compositions and making complete strophes out of broken lines and sentences. Though on the whole the thing is mechanical, it gives very important hints to the young poets and shows to what an extent the author was a past master in his craft and an erudite scholar of rhetoric.

271. A number of later writers have been deeply influenced by the *Kāvya-kalpalatā*. The *Kāvya-kalpalatā* of Deveśvara (circa 14th century A. D.) closely follows in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement the work of Amaraçandra, and at several places Deveśvara has copied down wholesale from his predecessor. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and repeats the illustrative stanzas.¹ This copying is not sporadic but systematic and is found throughout the work, from which we may infer that Deveśvara must have before him the text of Amaraçandra's work. A considerable portion of the treatment given to his subject by Amaraçandra has been reproduced by Keśavamiśra (16th century A. D.) in his *Alaṃkāraśekhara*,² though the latter text deals, besides *Kaviśikṣā*, with the ordinary topics of poetics. And to this day, the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* of Amaraçandra has enjoyed the fame of being a unique text-book on the subject of *Kaviśikṣā* among the scholars of Sanskrit throughout India.

1 De, op. cit., vol. I, p. 212.

2 Ibid., pp. 261 ff.

CHAPTER XV

WORKS ON GRAMMAR

Systems of Sanskrit Grammar

272. As is well-known, Vyākaraṇa is one of the six Vedāṅgas or accessory sciences to the study of the Veda, which were principally concerned with the preservation and interpretation of the sacred texts. The Padapāṭha of the R̥gveda prepared by Śākalya, the Prātiśākhya and the Śikṣāś are works which show what a great care was taken to preserve and pronounce the texts in their correct form, and from the Nirukta of Yāska (circa 700 B. C.) we know how etymological and philological discussions were carried on with the Vedic texts as their data, and how the different schools of interpretation had established themselves by the times of Yāska. But while discussing the grammatical problems connected with ancient texts, the grammarians had to take some cognisance of the current speech of the people also, and it was probably from this tendency that the secular grammars arose. The first available grammar which deals with the current usage of Sanskrit as contrasted with the archaic language of the scriptures is the monumental Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (circa 500 B. C.), who cites by name many predecessors including Śākaṭāyana (III. iv. iii), Āpīśali (VI. i. 91), Sphoṭāyana (VI. i. 123), Śākalya (I. i. 16), Cākravarman (VI. i. 128), Senaka (V. iv. 112), Gārgya (VIII. iii. 20), and Gālava (VI. iii. 61), testifying to the fact that Pāṇini had several important works on grammar before him. From Pāṇini's references to 'the easterners' some scholars have inferred the existence of the Aindra school of grammarians which was supplanted by his grammar.¹ In addition to the great Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (circa 120 B. C.), there are several accessory treatises on the Sūtras of Pāṇini, out of which may be mentioned the Vārttika of Kātyāyana (circa 350 B. C.), the Kāśikā Vṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana (7th century A. D.), the Dhātupāṭha, the Uṇādisūtra traditionally ascribed to Śākaṭāyana or Vararuci, and the Phitsūtra of Śantanava; these were followed by a number of important works, which we are not mentioning here.

273. After the times of Pāṇini, grammar occupied a very important place in the literary and scientific studies in India, and every student had to get at least a working knowledge of the Śabdaśāstra; and in course of time different schools of grammar arose in different parts of India. The oldest among these schools was probably the Kātantra, also known as the Kaumāra or Kālāpa. This school had much influence in Kāśmīr and Bengal, and was generally followed by all sections of the people in Gujārāt before Hemacandra wrote his grammar.² The Cāndra Vyākaraṇa of Candragomin (circa 470 A. D.) was popular in the Buddhist countries, Kāśmīr, Tibet,

1 Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, pp. 10 ff.

2 PT, Vol. II, p. 419.

Nepal, and reached Ceylon.¹ The Śārasvata school of grammarians cannot be put down to a date very much earlier than 1250 A. D.² The influence of this school was mostly limited to Gujarāt, Rājasthān, the region around Delhi and Bengal, and it continued in vigour down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita (circa 1630 A. D.) and his pupils, when all the other schools of grammar began to decline.³ Among other noteworthy schools are the Jaumāra school of Kramadīśvara (after 1150 A. D.)⁴ which takes its name from Jaumāranandi, the most celebrated writer of the school, and the school of Bopadeva (13th century A. D.), the author of the Mugdhabodha.

274. The Jains have also got their own systems of grammar, and the schools of Jainendra, Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra have their own tradition and following. The authorship of the Jainendra grammar has been traditionally ascribed to the last Jina Mahāvira, but it is the work of Pūjyapāda Devanandi, and on consideration of historical evidence scholars have put it in the later part of the fifth century A. D.⁵ It is a condensation of Pāṇini and the Vārttikas. Jaina Śākaṭāyana who belonged to the Yāpaniya saṃgha is different from the ancient grammarian bearing that name, and wrote his Śābdamūśāsana in the 9th century A. D.⁶ Though it was primarily meant for the Jains, it was also studied among other communities, if we are to judge from references in later grammatical literature.⁷ We have already seen in the first chapter how Hemacandra's grammar, which contains the detailed treatment of both Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages, including Apabhraṃśa, was written at the request of king Sidhharāja Jayasimha. Hemacandra's grammar nearly supplanted all other systems of grammar among the jains in Gujarāt, and in the study of Prākṛits its position has always remained supreme. In addition to the commentaries and other accessory treatises which Hemacandra wrote on his grammar, the Jaina scholars have composed, right up to the 18th century, and in a few cases even upto this day, a large number of works annotating, abridging, simplifying and recasting for the convenience of students the monumental work of Hemacandra.⁸

The Syādis'abdasamuccaya of Amaraśāstrī

275. Both the works which are to be reviewed here, viz. the Syādis'abdasamuccaya of Amaraśāstrī and the Prākṛitprabodha or Prākṛitadīpikā of

1 Belvalkar, op. cit., pp. 57 ff.

2 Ibid, p. 91.

3 Ibid, p. 92.

4 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 432.

5 Belvalkar, op. cit., p. 64. Also vide Premi, Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, pp. 93 ff.

6 Ibid, p. 69. Also vide Premi, op. cit., pp. 150 ff.

7 Ibid, p. 68.

8 For a list of such works written upto the 18th century, vide Pt. Bechardas, PT, Vol. IV, pp. 80 f.

CHAPTER XVI

A WORK ON METRICS

Science of metrics in Sanskrit

282. Chandas or metrics, like the Vyākaraṇa, is also one of the six Vedāṅgas. The origin of the vedic metres may probably date back to the Indo-Iranian period, but the science of metrics can be considered to have begun from the time when inquiries into the nature of metrics were seriously made. The earliest attempts are found in Indian literature in the Nidānasūtra of the Sāmaveda, the S'āmkhāyana Śrautasūtra (vii. 2), in the Ṛk Prātisākhya and also in the Anukramaṇi of Kātyāyana. "Our authorities leave us wholly in the dark regarding the development of metre between the Vedic and classical periods of Sanskrit, and it is hardly very profitable speculating exactly why there grew up in Sanskrit poetry the use of metres with a determined length of quarter-stanzas or lines, each line being built exactly on the same model, while the first two and the last two lines were more closely combined than the second and the third, between which a complete caesura was essential."¹ The Sūtras of Piṅgala contain a section on the Vedic metres, but the treatise as a whole is meant as a manual on classical prosody. Among earlier writers on prosody quoted by Piṅgala are Krauṣṭiki, Ṭaṇḍin, Yaska, Kāśyapa, S'aitava, Rāta and Māṇḍavya.² The name of Piṅgala became so proverbial in course of time that the word Piṅgala itself came to mean "the science of prosody", as can be seen from the title Prākṛta Piṅgala given to a work on Prākṛit metres composed about the 13th or 14th century A.D. Scholars believe that Piṅgala is earlier than the chapters XIV and XV of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata which deal with metres and the relevant section of the Agni Purāṇa.³ We get numerous treatises on metrics after the time of these early authorities. A short manual known as the Śrutabodha is ascribed to Kālidāsa, but there are no means of identifying the author with the author of the Śakuntalā and Raghuvamśa. In chapter CIV of his Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Varāhamihira (circa 550 A. D.) describes various metres simultaneously with the planetary movements, and by the 11th century A. D. we get the Suvṛttatilaka of Kṣemendra, which is noteworthy because the author deals with his subject not only from the practical, but also from the aesthetic point of view. In the 12th century Hemacandra wrote his elaborate manual Chandonuśāsana, which is very important because of the bulky sections on the Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa metres.

The Chandoratnāvali of Amaracandra

283. Amaracandrasūri, who was, as we have seen, one of the foremost figures in the literary circle of Vastupāla, has also written a work

1 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 417.

2 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 902.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 416.

on metrics, called the Chandoratnāvali. Amaracandra comes about a century after Hemacandra, and being a Jaina writer from Gujārāt, his work shows considerable influence of Hemacandra, and at times he borrows wholesale from his great predecessor. The Chandoratnāvali is unprinted as yet. None of its several manuscripts examined by me has noted its Granthāgra, but according to a rough calculation made by me it is about 820 ślokas. Hemacandra's work is much more extensive, and its Granthāgra along with that of the Svopajña Vṛtti is about 3124 ślokas.¹ Thus the Chandoratnāvali being only about one-fourth in extent in comparison with the Chandonuśāsana, its treatment is naturally less elaborate, though in general plan it is remarkably similar to Hemacandra. As we have seen before (para 106 and 269), Amaracandra has referred to the Chandoratnāvali in his Kāvya-kalpalatā, and it is possible that he might have considered this short treatise on metrics as a companion-volume to his work on Kaviśikṣā, as both deal with subjects which are of much practical use in the craft of the poet.

284. The Chandoratnāvali is divided into 9 chapters. The first chapter is called the संज्ञाध्याय,² and explains the Sanjñās or terminology used in the work, like वर्णगण, मात्रागण, वृत्त, समवृत्त, विषमवृत्त, अर्धसमवृत्त, पाद, यति, etc. The second chapter is styled the समवृत्ताध्याय.³ It deals with various Samavṛttas, and in the end treats of a number of Daṇḍakas, and arrangement of Gaṇas in them.⁴ The third chapter is अर्धसमवृत्ताध्याय⁵ and the fourth is विषमवृत्ताध्याय,⁶ and both deal with the Sama and Viṣama metres respectively. The fifth chapter is मात्रावृत्ताध्याय, and lays down the characteristics of metres like Āryā, Giti and their various types. The sixth chapter is styled the प्रस्ताराध्याय,⁷ and deals with the exposition of prosody matematically developed in the calculations of combinations. The seventh chapter is प्राकृतछन्दोऽध्याय,⁸ and deals with various types of Gāthā, Āryā, Galitā, Khaṇḍjaka, Dvipadī, Khaṇḍa-gīti, etc., which are Mātrāvṛttas principally of the Prākṛit languages. The eighth and ninth chapters are described as उत्साहादिप्रतिपादन⁹ and षट्पदीद्विपदीचतुष्पदीव्यावर्णन,¹⁰ and deal with Apabhraṃśa metres like Utsāha, Rāsaka, Dvipadī, Catuspadī, Rāsāvalaya, Aḍilā, Vastu, Karpūra, Kuṃkuma, Vadanaka, different types of Dhavalamaṅgala, Fullaḍaka, Jhambāḍaka, Ullāla, Catuskāla, Ṣaṭkāla, Ṣaṭpadī and many others. The author has also laid down the numerous sub-varieties of some of them, has shown how the permutations and combinations of the metres can be made, and has given the characteristics of

1 JG, p. 317.

2 cf. CHA, ch. I. संज्ञाध्यायः

3 cf. Ibid, ch. II. समवृत्तव्यावर्णनः

4 Hemacandra also lays down the characteristics of different types of Daṇḍakas at the end of his second chapter.

5-6 cf. CHA, ch. III. अर्धसमविषमवैतालीयमात्रासमकादिव्यावर्णनः

7 cf. Ibid, ch. VIII. प्रस्तारादिव्यावर्णनः

8 cf. Ibid, ch. IV. आर्यागलितकखञ्जकीर्षिकव्यावर्णनः

9 cf. Ibid, ch. V. उत्साहादिप्रतिपादनः

10 cf. Ibid, ch. VI. षट्पदीचतुष्पदीशासनः; ch. VII. द्विपदीव्यावर्णनः

Sandhi, Kaṭavaka and Dhruvā, which are important units in versification in the Apabhraṁśa narrative poetry.

285. Amaracandra has cited a number of authorities in his work. In chapter I and II he has quoted the opinions of Bharata, Jayadeva,¹ Piṅgala and Svayambhū,² especially while giving the alternative names of different metres. In chapter III he has quoted the verses of Dhanapāla (10th century A. D.) and Hemacandra. Chapter VII cites a Prākṛit verse in praise of king Kumārāpāla (सिरिभूरायभूवइकुलगयनमयंक०) and also quotes from the Ratnāvalī I. 13 (कुमुदाहृषिअदूअजो०). From this chapter begins the treatment of Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa metres, and here the author frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to the Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra, which is alternatively known as the Chandaścūḷāmaṇi.³ Chapter VIII and IX which deal with Apabhraṁśa metres are also very interesting from the literary point of view, because they quote a number of verses from the Apabhraṁśa literature. Some of the verses are taken from the Chandonuśāsana, as the author is deeply indebted to that work. I shall cite only a few illustrations which are also important from the viewpoint of literary history. At one place in chapter IX five Dūhās of poet Muñja are compared with the five arrows of the god of love—

चूडुल्ल बाहोहजल नयणा कंचुवि समघण । इय मुंजि रइया दूहवा पंच वि कामहु पंच सर ॥⁴

“Five Dūhās composed by Muñja, containing the words चूडुल्ल०, बाहोहजल०, नयणा०, कंचुवि० and समघण० are like the five arrows of Kāma.”

Two out of these five Dūhās are also given by the author—

चूडुल्ल चुणीहोइसइ मुदि कवोलि निहित्तउ । निद्वद्धउ सासानलिण बाहसलिलसंसित्तउ ॥⁵

“O shy one ! the bangle on your hand, when put on the cheeks, will break to pieces being burnt by the fire of your breath and then sprinkled over by the water of your tears.”

तं तेत्तिउ बाहोहजल सिहिणं निरु वि न पत्तु । छिमछिमिवि गंडत्थलिहि सिमसिमिवि समत्तु ॥⁶

1 Jayadeva had written a treatise on metrics in the Sūtra style. He has been quoted as a master of metrics and music by Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.) in his Abhinavabhārati (Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 902) and he must have, therefore, lived before his time.

2 We know of two well-known Apabhraṁśa poets—Caturmukha Svayambhū and his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū, who lived between the 8th and 10th century A. D. (M. C. Modi, BHV, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.). We do not know whether one of them was identical with Svayambhū quoted by Amaracandra.

3 प्राकृताद्युपयोगीनि छन्दांसि कतिचिद् भवे । एषां च लक्षणं लक्ष्यं लिखिष्यामि पृथक् पृथक् ॥
श्रीहेमसूरिप्रणीतछन्दश्चूडामणेरिह । किञ्चित् किञ्चन चान्यसाहस्यं छन्दोऽभिधान्वितम् ॥

(VII. 1-2)

4 cf. CHA, commentary on VI. 20.

5 cf. Ibid. This verse with slight variations in reading is also found in the Prākṛit grammar of Hemacandra (IV. 395).

6 cf. Ibid.

"So much water of tears could not reach even the breasts. It simply disappeared (evaporated) on the (very hot) cheeks, making a sound."

We do not exactly know who this poet Muñja was. The Prabandhacintāmaṇi has nine Apabhraṃśa verses bearing the name of Muñja¹, and there Muñja is none but the king of Mālvā, who was a great patron of learning and lived in the 10th century A. D. It is quite possible that the erotic verses ascribed to Muñja and quoted by Hemacandra and Amaraçandra may be from the pen of this poet-king.

1 PC, pp. 23 f.

CHAPTER XVII

A WORK ON NYĀYA

The Vaiśeṣika school and the Nyāyakandali

286. Now we take up Naracandrasūri's *Ṭippaṇa* on the *Nyāyakandali* of Śrīdhara (991 A. D.), which is a commentary on the *Bhāṣya* of Praśasta-pāda (5th century A. D.) on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* of Kaṇāda. As is well-known, the *Vaiśeṣika* and *Nyāya* are two of the six traditional *Darśanas*. In their earlier stages of development the two grew up as independent systems of thought. The *Nyāya* or the discipline of logic really originated in the earlier discussions in the *Brāhmaṇas*, which were later on systematized in the *Nyāya* section of the *Mīmāṃsā*. In fact, with appropriate variation, *Nyāya* or logic was a part of every school of Indian thought—Vedic, jaina and Budhhist. But in the early centuries of the Christian era the *Nyāya*, as systematized by Gautama in his *Nyāyasūtras*, became a *Darśana* by itself, and adopted the *Vaiśeṣika* metaphysics to complete itself as a *Darśana*. The *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* are believed to be probably earlier than the *Nyāya-sūtras*.¹ The *Vaiśeṣika* was primarily a school of metaphysics, basing itself on the atomic theory. In its early history it had its own system of *Pramāṇa*. But later on the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* became cognate systems, the *Vaiśeṣika* giving prominence to the metaphysical aspect, while the *Nyāya* emphasised the logical aspect.

287. It is difficult to trace the early history of the seven *Padārthas* or categories of the *Vaiśeṣika* school; but we can say that the atomic theory and the theory of *Viśeṣas* or particulars is very old one, the traces of which can be found in Pāli literature as well as in the Jaina Canon. The *Milindapañha* (circa 1st century A. D.)² gives the words *Niti* (i. e. *Nyāya*) and *Vaiśeṣika*.³ In several works of the Jaina canon like the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* (ch. 7), the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* (p. 40), etc., and also in the *Viśeṣa-vaśyaka Bhāṣya* (vv. 2451-2508) we find a reference to the school of thought called the *Terāsiya* or *Trairāśika*. The summary of the principles of this school given by the Jaina works is "clearly *Vaiśeṣika*, of the Kaṇāda type, nine substances, seventeen qualities, five forms of motion, particularity, and inherence with, however, three forms of generality somewhat obscurely phrased."⁴ The Jainas also accept a sort of atomic theory—the theory of *Pudgalas*—for explaining the constitution of matter. Thus there seems to be some relation between the Jaina theory of matter and the *Vaiśeṣika* theory of atoms. This may explain why some Jaina writers in mediaeval times wrote commentaries on the *Vaiśeṣika* works. In fact, Naracandrasūri was only following this tradition in writing his gloss on the *Nyāyakandali*

1 Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp. 23 f.

2 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 175.

3 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

on the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda, and Rājasekharaśūri (circa 1349 A. D.) in writing his Pañjikā on the same work.

288. Old commentaries on the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda, like the Vyomavati of Vyomas'ivācārya (7th century A. D.),¹ the Kiraṇāvali of Udayanācārya (984 A. D.) and the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdharaācārya have always wielded great influence among the students of the Vaiśeṣika school, and are considered as land-marks in the history of the system. The Nyāyakandalī, along with other two works, had become popular among students and was used as a text-book in higher studies of logic. That was especially the case in mediaeval Gujarāt, because two out of a very few available commentaries on the Nyāyakandalī—the Ṭippaṇa by Naracandraśūri and the Pañjikā by Rājasekharaśūri—were composed in Gujarāt, as I have just pointed out; great logician Vādī Devaśūri (12th century A. D.) in his Syādvādaratnākara has often referred to and also quoted from Śrīdhara mentioning him by his name and also as the Kandalikāra (e. g.—pp. 328, 412, 416, 852, 923, etc.); and Jayasimhaśūri, a Jaina writer from Gujarāt, has cited with respect the opinion of the author of the Nyāyakandalī in his Nyāyatātparyadīpikā (circa 1366 A. D.), which is a commentary on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña (तथा च प्रतिपादयान्नकार श्रीकन्दलीकारः, p. 47). We are to study here the Ṭippaṇa of Naracandraśūri who, as I have already mentioned, was not only proficient in Nyāya, but was also an adept in different Śāstras like poetics, grammar and astrology, and also in Jaina religious studies (para 119).

Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa on the Nyāyakandalī

289. The Nyāyakandalī expounds the contents of the monumental work of Praśastapāda, and naturally the author who wanted to write a gloss upon the Nyāyakandalī must be not only a profound logician, but also a deep scholar of other systems of philosophy, as Naracandraśūri was. Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa is not printed, and is available in manuscript-form only. Its Granthāgāra is 2500 śloka,² and as such it is very short in comparison to the Nyāyakandalī; still it shows the author's thorough grasp and his lucid exposition of the subject-matter. Naracandra's work has merit in another respect too. Though he was a staunch Jaina, he treated the subject as an adherent of the Vaiśeṣika system, following a great tradition of Indian savants like Vācaspati Miśra (841 A. D.), who composed great expository treatises on the texts of the Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya schools—the tradition of remaining faithful to the work which they were expounding. A few illustrative quotations would go a long way to show this.

290. Naracandra writes as follows, commenting upon the words अद्वितीयम् and ज्ञानात्मने occurring in the benedictory verse of the Nyāyakandalī—अद्वितीयत्वं वेदान्ताभिप्रायेण, विवदितानि आश्रितानां बन्धनानि येन स्वयं नित्यमुक्तवात् । अथवा महेश्वरोऽपि पुरुषेषु उत्तम

¹ Mahendrakumar Śāstri, intro. to the *Prameyacakamamārtanda*, pp. 8 ff.

² JRK, p. 219.

इति तस्यैव नमस्कारो, अत्राद्वितीयमिति न विद्यते द्वितीयो यस्य, ज्ञानात्मने इति ज्ञानधर्मवते इत्यर्थः। आत्मशब्दो धर्मेऽपि वर्तते यथा वटत्वं वटस्य स्वरूपं वटस्य धर्म इत्यर्थः।¹ In this way, though beginning the interpretation from the view-point of the Vedānta, Naracandra has concluded it from the stand-point of a Naiyāyika.

In the same way, commenting upon the half-verse पराञ्चि खानि व्यवृणुत् स्वयम्भूः तस्मात् परान् पश्यति नान्तरात्मा quoted by the Nyāyakandalī (p. 57), Naracandra writes—पराञ्चि खानि इति। ब्रह्मा पराञ्चि बाह्यार्थग्राहकाणीन्द्रियाणि सृष्ट्वांस्तत्कारणादसदादिशरीरान्तर्वर्तमाना आत्मा परान् शरीराद्युपादानयोग्यान् परमाणून् पश्यति। परो ह्यर्थे इन्द्रियैरेव ग्राह्यो नात्मना, इन्द्रियाणि च न परमाणुग्रहणे समर्थानीति भावः। व्यवृणुदिति वृहे रौधादिकस्य ह्यस्तन्यं रूपम्।²

At another place, he explains from the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika stand-point, how the external desire of god can arise at the time of Pralaya—सञ्जिहीर्षेति (NK, p. 51)। तावत्कालावच्छेदकोपाध्यवच्छिन्नकालसहकृतत्वमेवैश्वरेच्छाया उत्पादस्तस्या नित्यत्वात्। एवं प्रयत्नस्यापीति।³ These illustrations would show Naracandra's method of treatment of his subject, and they can be easily multiplied. It will be enough to say that he writes here as a staunch Naiyāyika, and would not spare in this matter even Śrīdhara, on whose work he has commented. As for example, the Nyāyakandalī (p. 9) writes about the blueness of sky visible by day—time—मध्यन्दिनेऽपि दूरगगनान्तमोगव्यापिनो नीलिम्रश्च प्रतीतेः। on which Naracandra has criticized as follows—आलोकसद्भावेऽपि मध्यन्दिने गगनव्यापि नीलिमरूपं तमः प्रतीयते इत्यर्थः। यतश्च स्वसिद्धान्तनिरपेक्षयैवोक्तं, गगननीलिम्रो नयनगोलकगतनीलिमत्वेन स्वयमभ्युपगमात्।⁴

291. It is clear from the work that Naracandra had made a thorough study of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature that was written before his time, and that he had good grasp of the theoretical differences between the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika systems. The Nyāyakandalī refutes from the Vaiśeṣika point of view the Naiyāyika theory regarding the Upamāna Pramāṇa—येऽपि श्रुतातिदेश-वाक्यस्य, etc. (NK, p. 221), which Naracandra explains as follows—अथ नैयायिकमतमुपदर्श्य दूषयन्ब्राह्म येऽपि श्रुतातिदेशेत्यादि।⁵ At another place he has referred to the opinion of Bhuṣaṇa, the commentator of the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña⁶, and has compared his view with that of the Nyāyakandalī as to whether the लैङ्गिक ज्ञान is उभयालंबि or एकालंबि. That is as follows—प्रत्यक्षत्वे सति (NK, p. 117)। प्रत्यक्षत्वे स्तीति, यद्यपि पुरुषो दण्डी, पर्वतो वद्विमानित्युभयत्राप्येकालम्बनत्वमुभयालम्बनत्वं वा तुल्यं तथापि सुरभि चन्दनमित्यत्र बाधवशादेकालम्बनसिद्धावन्यदपि विशिष्टं प्रत्यक्षज्ञानमेकालंबनमित्यस्याभिमतं, लैङ्गिकज्ञानं तुमयालंबनमेवाभिमतमिति तदव्यवच्छेदो कृतः। भूषणस्तु लैङ्गिकज्ञानमप्येकालंबनमेवाभ्युपगच्छतीति।⁷

292. The Nyāyakandalī has refuted at a number of places the views of Vyomaśivācārya, who was an earlier commentator of Prāśastapāda; and it

1 NKT, folio 1. The numbers of the folios mentioned here are of the ms. no. 2709 of the collection of Muni Hamsavijayaji, deposited at the Jaina Jñāna Mandir, Baroda.

2 Ibid, folio 27.

3 Ibid, folio 25.

4 Ibid, folios 5-6.

5 Ibid, folio 68.

6 Bhande, Indian Logic in the Early Schools, p. 305n.; Keith, op. cit., pp. 30f

7 Ibid, folio 46.

seems that Naracandra, before writing his *Ṭippaṇa*, had thoroughly digested the *Vyomavati*. This is especially remarkable, because at a number of places he has traced the view anonymously cited by Śrīdhara to the *Vyomavati*. I would quote here a few references—

(i) क्त्वाप्रत्ययेनानूयते इति—व्योमशिखेन व्याख्यातं तद्विधिनियेषाभावान्निष्प्रयोजनमिति दूषयिष्यन्न-
न्यथा व्याचष्टे—अत्रैव च (NK, p. 2) ¹

(ii) किमस्यास्तित्वे प्रमाणम् ? प्रत्यक्षमेव, त्वसिन्द्रियव्यापारेण वायुर्वातीत्यपरोक्षज्ञानोत्पत्तेरिति कश्चिद्
(NK, p. 46) । कश्चिदिति व्योमशिखः ²

(iii) स्पर्शनप्रत्यक्षो वायुरूपलभ्यमानस्पर्शाधिष्ठानत्वात् (NK, p. 46) । व्योमशिखमते तु शीतो
वायुरित्यादौ जलादिस्पर्शोपलम्भेऽपि अ-धस्योष्णो घट इतिवत् वायुप्रत्यक्षत्वम् ³

(iv) अत्राह कश्चिद्— (NK, p. 214) । अत्राह कश्चिदिति शब्दप्रमाणान्तरवादी व्योम-
शिखादिः ⁴

293. That Naracandra was a master of the dialectical style of the logicians is evident from the *Vikalpas* of the *आलम्बनिकत्व* that he has given in his *Ṭippaṇa*. The passage throws ample light on Naracandra's capacity as a logician, and as such deserves to be quoted here in its entirety—
तस्मादहितनिवृत्तिरालम्बनिकीति (NK, p. 41) । ननु किमिदमालम्बनिकत्वं ? न तावन्निवृत्तस्य
पुनरुत्पादस्तस्य संसारिसाधारण्यात्, संसारिणामपि बहुः खं निवृत्तं न तत्पुनरुत्पद्यते; नाप्युच्छितिः प्रलयेऽपि
निर्वाणप्रसङ्गात्, नापि निवृत्तजातीयस्य पुनरनुत्पादः; कोऽयमनुत्पादो नाम ? किं प्रागभाव उत प्रध्वंसाभावोऽप्ये-
तरेतराभाव, आहोस्विदत्यन्ताभावः ? तत्र न तावत् पूर्वव्रित्तयं संसारिसाधारण्यात्, नापि तुर्यः स किं दुःखमात्रस्य
दुःखविशेषस्य वा ? नाद्यस्तस्य भोगवस्यायां संभवेन त्रैकाल्यासत्त्वासिद्धेर्लौकालिकाभावस्यैवात्यन्ताभावत्वात्, न
द्वितीयस्तस्य संसारावस्थायामपि संभवात्, किञ्चिद्धि तदुःखमस्ति यत्संसारिणापि नानुभूयते; नापि समूलं दुःखनिवृ-
त्तिरालम्बनिकत्वं; सा किं विद्यमानयोर्दुःखतन्मूलयोरविद्यमानयोर्वा ? नाद्यो विद्यमानयोः कतिचित्कालपरिपाकवशादव-
श्यभावि निवृत्तित्वेन तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं ज्ञानाभ्यासादिप्रयासवैयर्थ्यं; नापरोऽविद्यमानस्येश्वरेणापि निवर्तयितुमशक्यत्वात्,
नापि दुःखप्रागभावासहवर्तित्वं, प्रागभावाभावे सति दुःखस्वीकारप्रसङ्गात्; सहवर्तित्वाभावस्याभाववतुष्टयत्वेन
विकल्प्यमानस्य पूर्वदोषप्रसङ्गात् । उच्यते—दुःखप्रध्वंसरूपाया दुःखनिवृत्तेरागामिदुःखमात्रालंताभावसहकृतत्वमाल-
म्बनिकत्वमिति ⁵

294. The *Nyāyakandali* has refuted at length the views of the Buddhist philosophy setting them as the *Pūrvapakṣa*. Hence the author who writes a gloss or a commentary on the *Nyāyakandali* must have a thorough grounding in the Buddhist philosophy, as Naracandrasūri had. The fact becomes significant when we know that Buddhist logic was one of the main subjects taught to the students in mediaeval Gujarāt (para 37). A few illustrative quotations from the *Ṭippaṇa* will be enough to show Naracandra's proficiency in Buddhist philosophy—

(i) अथ माध्यमिकमाशङ्कते—सवासनेति (NK, p. 3) ⁶

(ii) यथाऽप्रतीयमानेऽपि.....(NK, p. 75), on which Naracandra writes—बौद्धोत्तर-

1 Ibid, folios 26–27.

2 Ibid, folio 24.

3 Ibid, folio 24.

4 Ibid, folio 64.

5 Ibid, folio 3.

6 Ibid, folio 2.

माशंक्य यथाऽप्रतीयमानेऽपीति-अत्र चाक्षणीकस्य व्यावृत्तिविषयस्याप्रतीतौ कथं सत्त्वव्यावृत्तिप्रतीतिरिति शंकायां व्यावृत्तिविषयाप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि व्यावृत्तिर्दृश्यते ।¹

(iii) अपि भोः सर्वमिति (NK, p. 122) । ग्रन्थकारो हि प्रथमं वैभाषिकमतं ततः सौत्रान्तिकमतं योगाचारेण दूषयित्वा ततः स्वयं योगाचारमपि निराकरिष्यमाणः प्रथमं बाह्यार्थप्रत्यक्षतावादिनं वैभाषिकं निराकरिष्यन् योगाचारमुत्थापयति अपि भोः सर्वमिति ।²

(iv) न च तदुत्पत्तेरिति (NK, p. 123) । न च तदुत्पत्तेरन्यदिति-ज्ञानस्यार्थादुत्पन्नत्वमेव नियतार्थग्राहितास्वभावहेतुर्नान्य इत्यर्थः । एवं वैभाषिकमतं योगाचारेण दूषयित्वा विषयाप्रत्यक्षवादिनं ग्राह्यकारज्ञानप्रत्यक्षतावादिनं सौत्रान्तिकं योगाचारादुपयिष्यन्नाशंक्यति अथोच्यते इत्यादि ।³

(v) अत्रोच्यते (NK, p. 123) । योगाचारेण सौत्रान्तिकं दूषयति अत्रोच्यते इत्यादि ।⁴

(vi) अथ मतं यदेतदित्यादि (NK, p. 124) । सौत्रान्तिकपरिहारमाशंक्यति ।⁵

(vii) अथ साकारेणेति (NK, p. 124) । एतावता ग्रन्थेन किमर्थो गृह्यते, किमुतोभयमिति विकल्पद्वयं निराकृत्य, किं वा आकार इति तृतीयं विकल्पं योगाचारो निराचष्टे अथ साकारेणेति ।⁶

The quotations show that Naracandra knew Buddhist philosophy as propounded by different sects of the Buddhists, like Mādhyamika, Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣika and Yogācāra. But for his minute knowledge of the different philosophical tenets of these sects he could not have exactly identified them while explaining the Pūrvapakṣa in his Tīppaṇa.

295. It seems from the Tīppaṇa that Naracandra had also studied other systems of philosophy like Sāṃkhya-Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta. I shall present here a few quotations to show his knowledge of each of these systems.

(I) SĀMĀKHYA

(i) सर्वसन्मवाभावादिति (NK, p. 143) । सांख्यमते त्वयमपि हेतुः, विवादाध्यासितं कार्यमुत्पत्तेः प्रागपि स्वकारणेऽप्यस्ति तस्मादेव जायमानत्वात् तैलवत् ।⁷

(ii) प्रधानात्मकत्वे इति (NK, p. 144) । सांख्यैर्हि कार्यं प्रकृतितत्त्वकार्यमेवाभ्युपगम्यते, ततः कार्यकारणयोस्तादात्म्येऽतीन्द्रियकारणात्मकत्वात्कार्यजातस्याप्यतीन्द्रियत्वप्रसङ्गः, वैशेषिकमते तु भेदाभ्युपगमात् ब्रह्मण्युपपत्त्यप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि तत्कार्यस्योद्भूतरूपवत्त्वादिसामग्रीवशात् प्रत्यक्षतोपपद्यत एव ।⁸

(iii) प्रधानस्य विकारो महदिति (NK, p. 171) । सांख्यमते हि प्रकृतिर्नाम प्रधानापरपर्यायं सर्वोत्पत्तिमत्कारणं प्रथमं तत्त्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । तद्विकारमहत्तत्त्वं तस्य चान्तःकरणं चित्तं चेति त्रयाण्यौ तद्विकारतत्त्वं, ततः पञ्चतन्मात्राणि स्पर्शनादीनि पञ्चबुद्धीन्द्रियाणि वाक्पाण्यादीनि पञ्चकर्मेन्द्रियाणि मनश्चेति । अत एव महदहङ्कारमनःसहितैर्बुद्धिकर्मेन्द्रियैश्च योदशेन्द्रियाण्युपपद्यन्ते ।⁹

(II) YOGA

(i) क्लेशकर्मैति (NK, p. 58) । अविद्या-असिता-राग-द्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः, कर्माणि योगादीनि विवाका जाल्यासुदुर्भोगाः, आशया धर्माधर्मसंस्काराः । संस्काराणां तु केवलानामाशयत्वे कर्मेशब्देन धर्माधर्मयोरेभिधानम् ।¹⁰

1 Ibid, folio 31.

2 Ibid, folio 47.

3 Ibid, folio 47.

4 Ibid, folio 48.

5 Ibid, folio 48.

6 Ibid, folio 48.

7 Ibid, folio 53.

8 Ibid, folio 53.

9 Ibid, folio 56.

10 Ibid, folio 27.

(III) MĪMĀMŚĀ AND ITS BRANCHES

(i) शब्दस्य हि निजम् (NK, p. 216)। शब्दस्य हि निजमिति वैशेषिकभट्टमते सान्नायं प्रभाकरमते तु स्वरूपमेवेति ।¹

(ii) अत्रैके वदन्ति (NK, p. 217)। अत्रैके इति स्वतःप्रामाण्यवादिनो जैनभट्टवौडार्ढ्यः, भाट्टादयो हि ज्ञानमेव प्रमाणमाहुः, वैशेषिकास्तु ज्ञानं धूमचक्षुरादिकमज्ञानं च प्रमाणमाहुरित्यज्ञानरूपप्रमाणाभिप्रायेणाह । प्रामाण्यमेव तावदिति ।²

(iii) तर्हि स्वतो ज्ञायते (NK, p. 218)। भट्टाभिप्रायेण यस्मादेव ज्ञातत्वादेर्ज्ञानं ज्ञायते तस्मादेव स्वकीयात्प्रामाण्यमपि ज्ञायते इत्यत्र स्वशब्दः आत्मीयवचनः बौद्धप्रभाकरमते तु ज्ञानस्य स्वसंवेदनवाच्युपगमान् स्वस्मादात्मन एव ज्ञायते इत्यत्र स्वशब्दः आत्मवचनः ।³

(iv) ये तावत्पूर्वेति (NK, p. 220)। जरन्मीमांसकमतोपमानमुपदर्शयन्तर्भावयन्ति ये तावत्पूर्वेति ।⁴

(IV) VEDĀNTA

(i) यदाहुरेके (NK, p. 97)। यदाहुरेके इति वेदान्तवादिन इत्यर्थः ।⁵

(ii) केचित्सामान्यवत् शुक्लादिगुणानपि व्यापकान् नित्यानाहुस्तत्रिराद्ये-एतेनैकमिति (NK, p. 98) ।⁶

(iii) ये तु शुक्तिकायामिति (NK, p. 181)। ये इति जरद्वेदान्तिनः ।⁷

296. In addition to being a skilled logician, Naracandra was also a teacher of grammar, as we have already seen while reviewing his *Prākṛtaprabodha* (para 281). In this *Ṭippaṇa* also he has given etymologies of numerous words on the authority of grammar, and has inserted at several places short grammatical discussions,⁸ which show his command over the subject.

297. Naracandra's *Ṭippaṇa* also supplies some important historical information about Śrīdhara, the author of the *Nyāyakandālī*. We know from the concluding portion of the *Nyāyakandālī* that Śrīdhara was a native of the Rāḍha district in the Gauḍa country, and that he had written his work at the request of king Pāṇḍudāsa, who was reigning there. In short, Pāṇḍudāsa was the patron of Śrīdhara. Now, Naracandra writes at a place in his *Ṭippaṇa*-पाण्डुदासोऽयमिति ग्रन्थकृच्छिष्यः ।⁹ The Benares edition of the *Nyāyakandālī* (p. 93) reads here as वदोऽयमिति । From this can be inferred that the manuscript of the *Nyāyakandālī* which Naracandra had got contained some important variants and that there was a tradition prevalent, at least in Gujarāt, that Pāṇḍudāsa was a pupil of Śrīdhara. Naracandra's *Ṭippaṇa* also notes the name of Bhaṭṭācārya as the preceptor of Śrīdhara-गुरुभिरिन्द्रियज्ञानान्तिरुच्यते (NK, p. 178)। गुरुभिरिति भट्टाचार्यैरित्यर्थः ।¹⁰ This piece of information

1 Ibid, folio 65.

2 Ibid, folio 66.

3 Ibid, folio 66.

4 Ibid, folio 68.

5 Ibid, folio 42.

6 Ibid, folio 42.

7 Ibid, folio 58.

8 Ibid, folios 18, 21-22, 51, etc.

9 Ibid, folio 40.

10 Ibid, folio 58.

bearing on the personal history of the famous author of the Nyāyakandali is especially noteworthy, because we do not get it from any other source.

298. Thus though Naracandra is a profound logician and a deep scholar of various Śāstras, he is not free from a common defect found among the Sanskrit commentators of Śāstra-works. The defect is this—that in the beginning of the commentary, they write at length, but in the later portions of the work their treatment becomes briefer, as if they were fatigued by their literary effort. While expounding the Nyāyakandali, Naracandra has written at sufficient length on the Dravyagrantha which comes in the beginning. His treatment becomes progressively shorter as we go further. The gloss on the Guṇagrantha is shorter in comparison with that on the Dravyagrantha; Karma and Sāmānya are hastily passed off, nothing is written on Viśeṣa, and Samavāya has been treated in three or four lines only. It is possible, however, that in the Ṭippaṇa Naracandra intended to supply a handy guide-book to students, just like his Ṭippaṇa on the Anargharāghava and also his Prakṛtaprabodha, and probably the Ṭippaṇa may have been in the form of lecture-notes, in which case the treatment he has given to the subject can be assigned some reason.

CHAPTER XVIII

WORKS ON ASTROLOGY

Literature on astrology

299. Jyotiṣ meaning both astronomy and astrology was one of the oldest branches of learning cultivated in India, it being one of the six Vedāṅgas. "In the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras we find recognition of the idea of a lucky star, and the Dharmasūtras demand that the king shall have an astrologer just as he has a house-chaplain, while the Arthasāstra ranks the court-bards, the servants of the chaplain and astrologer among the lower court-functionaries."¹ From the great work of Varāhamihira, viz. his Br̥hatsamhitā (circa 550 A. D.), we know the names of several authorities on astrology, like Asita Devala, Garga, Vṛdhha Garga, Nārada and Parāśara, whose works are not extant—from which we know that a number of text-books existed before the times of Varāhamihira. From a reference in Varāhamihira² which mentions the great reputation of the Greeks in astrology and also from the fact that a number of Sanskrit technical terms of astrology have been directly adapted from Greek astrology,³ we get a clear indication of the Hellenic influence on this branch of scientific literature in India.

300. In later Sanskrit literature we find a number of treatises not only on astrology, but also on omens and augury, which are allied lores. The Jainas have made a worthy contribution to all these branches of learning,⁴ right from the Āgama-period when the works like the Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka, the Gaṇivijjā and the Aṃgavijjā were composed, upto the most recent times, because practice of Jyotiṣ and medicine was the hobby and sometimes profession of the Jaina Yatis. Among the comparatively earlier works on astrology written in Gujārāt we may mention the Sāmudrikatilaka begun in 1160 A. D. under king Kumārapāla by Durlabharāja and finished by his son Jagaddeva, who also wrote the Svapnacintāmaṇi explaining the meaning of dreams; and also the Narapatijayacaryā Svarodaya written at Aṇahilavāḍ under king Ajayapāla by one Narahari, son of Āmradeva.⁵

The Ārambhasidhhi of Udayaprabha and Jyotiṣsāra of Naracandra

301. A few decades after the period of Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, we come to the period of Vastupāla, the literary activities of whose circle include at least two works on astrology, viz. the Ārambhasidhhi of Udayaprabhasūri and the Jyotiṣsāra of Naracandrasūri. The Ārambhasidhhi has 412 verses in all, while the available portions of the Jyotiṣsāra have 257 verses. Both

1 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 528.

2 Br̥hatsamhitā, II. 25.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 530.

4 JRK, pp. 128, 134, 150-51, 159, 368-69, 460; and JSP, Vol. XIX, p. 4.

5 Keith, op. cit., pp. 534-35. Also LBC, p. 160 and JSI, pp. 277 f.

the works mainly deal with the Muhūrta-sudhhi or the finding out of correct time for auspicious undertakings from the astrological point of view, a branch of this science in which the Jaina writers specialized. Though the Jaina literature can show a large number of works on astrology and allied subjects, these two works have been always considered the most authoritative books on the topics with which they deal, and their popularity has been attested by the fact that scores of manuscripts of both of them can be obtained from different old Bhāṇḍārs all over Gujarāt and Rājasthān.

CHAPTER XIX

COMMENTARIES ON JAINA RELIGIOUS WORKS

Exegetical literature of the Jainas

302. Exegetical activity of the Jainas began with the Niryuktis, which are short metrical expositions of certain parts of the scriptural texts, and are traditionally ascribed to Bhadrabāhu (para 224). Then there are Bhāsyas in Prākṛit verse, which are sometimes inextricably intermingled with the Niryukti-verses. Most of the Cūrṇis or Prākṛit commentaries in prose on several canonical texts are ascribed to Jinadāsagaṇi who lived in the 7th century, as his Cūrṇi on the Nandisūtra was completed in 677 A. D.¹ Then commences the period in which the Jainas began to write Sanskrit commentaries on their religious works which were in Prākṛit, because they had fully accepted Sanskrit as the language of scholarship and high learning by that time; and we find learned Sanskrit commentaries from the pen of Haribhadrāsūri, Śīlāṅkadeva, Abhayadevasūri and Malayagiri—to all of whom we have referred in the first chapter—and from several others. This scholastic tradition continued with full vigour, upto the 17th century at least, when important commentaries like Vinayavijaya's Subodhikā and Dharmasāgara's Kiraṇāvali on the Kalpasūtra were composed.

303. Among the works of the literary circle of Vastupāla we do not find any commentary on the canonical texts, but we get detailed commentaries on three Prakaraṇas, which according to Jaina literary tradition mean short treatises dealing with some aspect of Jaina religion and philosophy, mostly composed in Prākṛit verse. These three commentaries are—Udayaprabhasūri's Karṇikā on the Upadeśamālā of Dharmadāsagaṇi, and Bālacandra's two commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and the Upadeśakandali of Āsaḍa.

The Upadeśamālā-Karṇikā of Udayaprabha

304. First we take the Upadeśamālā-Karṇikā. The Upadeśamālā is a Prākṛit work giving religious and moral instruction in 540 gāthās, and its author Dharmadāsa is believed by tradition to be a pupil of Mahāvīra.² But this is hardly possible, because the language of the Upadeśamālā corresponds to the later Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī. In any way, it is earlier than the 9th century, because by that time Sidhharṣi had written a commentary on it (para 16). The Upadeśamālā was very widely read and studied, and not less than eighteen commentaries in Sanskrit, one in Prākṛit and three Bālābodhas in old Gujarātī are known on the work.³ Chronologically, the Karṇikā of Udayaprabha is the fourth commentary, the earlier three being the commentary by Sidhharṣi, the Prākṛit Vṛtti by Jayasīmhasūri (857 A. D.) a pupil of Kṛṣṇa,⁴

1 JSI, p. 161; JRK, p. 201.

2 JSI, p. 31.

3 JRK, pp. 49-51.

4 The same author has also written a Prākṛit Prakaraṇa called the Dharmopadeśamālā, in 859 A. D., evidently inspired by the work of Dharmadāsa.

and the *Doghaṭṭi Vṛtti* by Ratnaprabhasūri (1182 A. D.).¹ The *Karṇikā* of Udayaprabha is not printed and is available in manuscript-form only. It is a very long commentary, its *Granthāgra* being 12274 ślokaś.² But the size of the work has been swelled not by explanations of the text, which are usually short, but by numerous stories and narratives inserted as illustrations of points stressed in the *gāthās*; it is for this reason that the *Granthāgra* of the commentary on the first three *gāthās* only is not less than 1944 ślokaś. All the illustrative stories are the typical examples of Jaina Dharmakathās. They are taken, as a rule, from the Jaina mythology and the Jain historical tradition, and are always in the *Anuṣṭup* metre, while the textual explanations are in prose. In his 8th *Maṅgala* verse Udayaprabhasūri has mentioned *Sidhharṣi* out of his previous commentators—

गाथास्तु खलु धर्मदासगणिनः सज्जातरूपश्रियः किञ्चैष स्फुरदर्धरत्ननिकरः सिद्धर्षिणैर्वापितः ।
तेनैतामसिद्धत्तसंस्कृतमयीमातन्वतः कर्णिकां वृत्तिं मेऽत्र सुवर्णकारपदवीसीमाश्रमश्चिन्त्यताम् ॥
(folio 1)

Bālacandra's commentaries on the *Vivekamañjarī* and *Upadeśakandali*

305. Next we come to Bālacandra's commentaries on the two *Prākṛit Prakaraṇas* by Āsaḍa—viz. his *Vivekamañjarī* and *Upadeśakandali*. The former work contains 327 *gāthās*, while the latter one comprises 125 *gāthās*, and both the works contain Jain religious instruction in its various aspects. The commentary on the *Vivekamañjarī* is published, while that on the *Upadeśakandali* being unprinted is available only in manuscript-form. Both the commentaries have been composed in the style of the *Karṇikā*, inserting numerous long narratives in verse, so much so that the *Granthāgra* of the commentary on the *Vivekamañjarī* is 8000 ślokaś,³ while that of the commentary on the *Upadeśakandali* is 7600 ślokaś.⁴ The *Vivekamañjarī-Ṭikā* has been divided into four parts, and at the end of the first three parts the author has given a verse in praise of Jaitrasimha, Āsaḍa's son, for whom he had composed the commentary (para 125), while at the end of the fourth part a long *Praśasti* has been given, which is literally identical with that at the end of the *Upadeśakandali-Ṭikā*. The *Upadeśakandali-Ṭikā* is in twelve parts, and two verses are appended at the end of each part—one in praise of Haribhadrasūri, the Guru of Bālacandra, and the other in praise of Āsaḍa, the author of the original *Prakaraṇas*. Some of the narratives in both the *Ṭikās* extend to several hundred verses. In the *Vivekamañjarī-Ṭikā* the author has given the *Bharata-Bhūṣana Mahākāvya*,⁵ the life of Bharata in a versified narrative which comprises 545 verses in four cantos; the *Sitācarita Mahākāvya*⁶ which has 556 verses in three cantos, and

1 JRK, p. 49-50.

2 Ibid, p. 50.

3 अष्टावनुष्टुभामत्र सहस्राणि भवन्ति हि । प्रत्यक्षरं गणनया ग्रन्थमाने विनिश्चिते ॥ (VMT, p. 217).

4 JRK, p. 47.

5 VMT, pp. 9-25.

6 Ibid, pp. 111-27.

Damayanti-Lalita Mahākāvya¹ giving an account of Nala and Damayanti, which contains 314 verses in three cantos. It may be remembered that the title Mahākāvya is to be understood here in the qualified sense of a narrative poem having great religious or mythological figures as heroes or heroines (para 166). The Sitācarita Mahākāvya also occurs in the Upadeśakandali-Ṭikā,² which has another long narrative giving the life of king Śreṇika, styled the Śreṇikopākhyāna Mahākāvya³ and comprising 336 verses in four cantos. As both the commentaries are from the pen of one author, a number of stories are literally common to both of them. It is interesting to note here that at one place in the Vivekamanjuri-Ṭikā the author has quoted a Subhāṣita from his own pen.⁴

306. Thus the method of all the three commentaries is almost identical, and the reason of that lies in the history of the Jaina scholastic tradition as far as it was concerned with the interpretation and study of the sacred texts. The metrical Niryuktis and Bhāṣyas many times give the story, but only in the form of catch-words, such as would enable the reader to recapitulate the whole story, which he would then narrate in his own words to his students or his audience. The Prākṛit Cūṛṇis frequently give the illustrative stories handed down by tradition; these stories are always in prose and are very briefly told without any literary embellishments. In Sanskrit commentaries also the stories are generally in Prākṛit, because they are taken from older sources which were in Prākṛit, though in some Sanskrit commentaries of later date one finds these stories in their Sanskrit versions. Not infrequently we get the stories in verse, as for example in Nemicaṇḍra's commentary on the Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra (1073 A. D.). As time went on the Prākṛit was cultivated less even by the Jainas, and possibly the bilingual commentaries were found to be somewhat inconvenient from the view-point of readers, most of whom were not scholars, even if they were Jaina ascetics. And we come nearer to the period of the commentaries we have just reviewed, which are entirely in Sanskrit and have their stories in lucid and readable Sanskrit verse. It was customary to read the religious Prakaraṇas at the time of daily sermon, and the illustrative stories helped the preacher a lot in making his discourse interesting to the audience. From this view-point, it can be said that the institution of the daily Vyākhyāna or sermon was instrumental in the development of the Jaina exegetical literature from the memorial verses of the Niryuktis to the elaborate and exhaustive commentaries like the writings of Udayaprabha and Bālacandra.

1 Ibid, pp. 132-43.

2 UKT, folios 165-81.

3 Ibid, folios 18-32.

4 यदुक्तमस्माभिः सूत्रपङ्क्तौ-

पद्माश्रय इति पद्मं विनोति कुमुदं न यदम्बबन्धुरपि ।

अम्बजले तुल्येऽपि हि तज्जातिः कारणात्सैव ॥

CONCLUSION

307. In the preceding chapters we have seen the literary and scholarly traditions of Gujarāt in the ages that preceded that of Vastupāla, we have studied the historical and biographical account of Vastupāla and of the poets and scholars in his literary circle, and then we have reviewed the noteworthy contribution which they made to Sanskrit literature, considering it form-wise. The works of this literary circle range from stray verses to Mahākāvyas and also deal with various branches of Śāstric literature. Even if we do not consider the works which are known only through references and have not yet been discovered, there are ten Mahākāvyas, four plays, eighteen Praśastis (exclusive of the shorter inscriptions and a large number of laudatory verses found in the Prabandhas, etc.), six Stotras, three anthologies, a collection of Prabandhas, a collection of Jaina Dharmakathās, two Apabhraṃśa Rāsas, three works on poetics including one on Kaviśikṣā, two works on grammar (one on Sanskrit and the other on Prākṛit grammar), a work on metrics, a work on Nyāya, two works on astrology, three commentaries on Jaina religious works and a gloss on the Sanskrit play Anargharāghava. This contribution becomes all the more noteworthy when we remember that it is but a part of the great literary and scholastic activity that was going on in Gujarāt in the 13th century A. D.; because, as remarked in the very beginning, in this book I have limited my subject to works of those literary figures, who were directly patronized by Vastupāla, and have not reviewed the life and works of his other contemporaries, among whom may be mentioned Vidyādhara (para 82), author of the earliest known commentary on the Naiṣadhiyacarita, Vinayacandra, the author of the Kaviśikṣā (para 262), and Lakṣmīdhara (1225 A. D.) and Devendra (1242 A. D.), who gave excellent summaries of the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla and the Upamitibhavaprapaṇcāka of Siddharṣi, respectively, and others. The extent and quality of their works were in no way negligible.

308. The most remarkable figure in the literary circle of Vastupāla was Someśvara. This hereditary priest of the Caulukya kings of Gujarāt was a poet of distinct merit and he attempted with notable success, almost all the forms of creative literature in Sanskrit, as we have seen in the preceding chapters. He composed Mahākāvyas, plays, Stotras, a collection of Muktakas, Praśastis, and numerous stray verses. In all these forms he acquitted himself very well, and it may be said without hesitation that not only does he occupy a high place in mediaeval Sanskrit literature, but his works like the Kīrtikaumudī may be ranked as second in merit only to the compositions of the great masters like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and others of the classical period.

309. Among other figures of the circle, whose literary works have come down to us, may be mentioned Amaracandrasūri and Naracandrasūri. The former was a prolific and versatile writer, as shown before, but a single composition of his, viz. the Kāvyaakalpalatā, which is a text-book of Kaviśikṣā, has made his name famous, and the said text has proved to

be the most popular and authoritative treatise on the topic among the students of Sanskrit, both Jainas and non-Jainas. The latter, viz. Naracandra-sūri was proficient in various Śāstras, he had taught Vastupāla three Vidyās (para 118), and his gloss on the Nyāyakandali of Śrīdhara shows his great erudition not only in Nyāya, but also in other Śāstras. We may also mention Māṇikyacandra, the author of the Saṃketa who, as we have seen, was one of the early commentators of the Kāvya prakāśa of Mammaṭa. I have dealt with other literary figures at the proper places, and the same things need not be repeated here.

310. The literary culture of Gujarāt in those days was a composite one, in which there was an admirable cultural co-operation among the Brāhmanical and Jaina scholars. We find that a royal priest like Someśvara writes Praśastis of Jaina temples and a Jaina Sādhu like Bālacandra borrows literary motifs from a great Brāhmanical work like the Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa (para 158). Moreover, we find that Amaracandra, also a Jain Sādhu, summarises the whole of the Mahābhārata in verse, and praises Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto. It may be noted that the sacred book summarized by Amaracandra is not the Jaina version of the Mahābhārata available in the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra and other works, but that great encyclopaedia of Indian traditions and legends ascribed to Vyāsa. This emphatically shows that listeners of Amaracandra, most of whom were most probably Jainas, were accustomed with the Brāhmanical Mahābhārata. The age-long enmity between the Śramaṇa and the Brāhmaṇa mentioned by Patañjali and others as if vanished in Gujarāt. This non-sectarian outlook in literary matters was not accidental, but it came from commendable toleration and the spirit of give and take which prevailed in contemporary life, represented by the great figure of Vastupāla in almost all its aspects, as the preceding chapters have shown. It also shows that the Hindu culture, of which the Jaina religion and culture form an integral part, was one, and whole of the mediaeval history of Gujarāt gives a picture in which we find this remarkable fusion of Brāhmanical and Jaina trends which has left its indelible mark on the cultural life of the whole province.

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